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WINSLOW

HYPOCRISIE UNMASKED

1646



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Book





Hypocrisie Unmasked

by

Edward Winslow

1646

The Sixth Publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints  
of Providence, Rhode Island

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ONE HUNDRED COPIES

No. 94.

# Hypocrisie Unmasked

## A True Relation

Of the Proceedings of the  
Governor and Company of the *Massachusetts*  
Against  
Samuel Gorton of *Rhode Island*

By  
EDWARD WINSLOW, *Governor*  
of the *Plymouth Colony*

Reprinted from the Original Edition  
issued at London in 1646  
With an Introduction by  
HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN



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# **Introduction**

By

**Howard Millar Chapin**





AMUEL GORTON, styling himself variously, Gentleman, Citizen of London, Clothier, and Professor of the Mysteries of Christ, landed at Boston in the spring of 1637. He soon settled at Plymouth, where he defied those in authority with vituperative condemnations. His chief complaints were that the magistrates disregarded the common law of England, and administered injustice by means of trials before packed juries which mocked at legal forms. His enthusiasm and his freedom of speech brought him into the power of the magistrates, by whom, on Tuesday, December 4, 1638, he was tried and banished from Plymouth Colony. He departed, with his family, to the newly-settled town of Pocasset upon the island of Aquidneck, now called Portsmouth upon Rhode Island. Here, already, the rivalry and animosity between the factions of William Coddington and of Anne Hutchinson had almost reached the danger-point, and was soon to break forth in an embittered controversy, which under various leaders was to rack and stunt for years the colony about Narragansett Bay.

Gorton joined the liberal Hutchinsonians, who for the nonce obtained the upper hand. By a coup d'état Gorton and Mrs. Hutchinson brought about the election of William Hutchinson, "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife," as judge in place of Coddington. In describing this conspiracy to his friend, Governor Winthrop, Coddington wrote: "It was hatched when I was last in the Baye, & the Lord, I hope, will shortely putt an esaw to it." Realizing that he was worsted, Coddington and his followers withdrew from Pocasset to the southern end of the island, where they founded Newport. Those who remained at Pocasset changed the name to Portsmouth, and drew up a new Civil Compact. In this document the hand of Gorton is evident, for its signers acknowledged themselves not only subjects of the King, but also obedient to his laws, or in other words subject to the common law of England.

Coddington was elected Governor by the Newport men, and immediately endeavored to extend his authority over the whole island. He had kept possession of the official records, and held in himself the title to the land, which latter advantage largely enabled him to regain the ascendancy. Gorton was tried, as at Plymouth, by an indigenous court, which had been sanctioned neither by the King nor by Parliament, and which did not show any particular regard for the forms and practices of English law. Gorton, convinced that the proceedings of the Court were extra-legal, and that he had as much right to try these self-appointed judges as they had to try him, yet feeling powerless against their superior physical force, lost his temper and tersely described various persons present by such expressive terms as "Just Asses," "saucy boys," and "Jack-an-Apes,"; called the Deputy Governor, William Brenton, "an Abetter of Riot, Assault, and Battery," and upon being commanded to prison, imperiously resisted the authority, and made open proclamation, saying, "Take away Coddington, and carry him to prison." Then the Governor said again, "All you that owne the King, take away Gorton and carry him to prison." Gorton replied, "All you that owne the King, take away Coddington, and carry him to prison."

The increase in Coddington's power made Gorton's residence at Portsmouth no longer possible, and in the winter of 1640/41 he removed to Providence. His familistic religious mysticism fascinated many, both at Plymouth and Portsmouth, and six or seven of his disciples with their families accompanied him to Providence.

On March 8, 1640/41, Roger Williams wrote: "Master Gorton having foully abused both high and low at Aquedneck, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence." His mysticism and his attacks upon the unchartered government evidently caused a considerable stir in Providence. On May 25, 1641, William Arnold wrote to the board of disposers, who governed Providence, and gave many reasons why the "said Gorton nor

his company are not fitt persons to be received in and made members of the town fellowship."

His opposition to the autogenous township inspired his followers to a riot on Monday, November 15, 1641, which led to the formation of three parties at Providence. Gorton and his friends openly defied the unchartered government. Roger Williams, at the head of the law and order party, endeavored to maintain the independent self-government of the town and to conciliate the hostile factions. The third party was led by the ambitious Arnolds, William and his son Benedict, who feared Gorton and were jealous of Williams. This last group of related families had built houses at Pawtuxet, some five miles south of Providence, on the west shore of the Bay. Holding Pawtuxet, they finally seceded from their neighbors and submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on September 8, 1642. This union, so clearly hostile to Gorton, led the Gortonoses, as he and his followers were called by the Indians, to move from Providence to the less accessible wilds and marshes of Shawomet, where they purchased land of the sachem Miantonomi, on the 12th of January, 1642/43.

Here, about ten miles south of Providence, on the coves which indent the western shores of Narragansett Bay, Gorton and his followers began to plant and build. The quarrels between the Gortonoses at Shawomet and their neighbors, the Arnolds at Pawtuxet, increased in intensity. The Arnolds complained, as Winslow relates, to their newly-adopted rulers, the magistrates of Massachusetts Bay, who thereupon summoned the Gortonoses to appear at the Boston Court. The latter, claiming subjection only to the English crown, refused to recognize the authority of Massachusetts Bay, and replied with a warrant for the Arnolds to appear for trial at Shawomet. The Massachusetts officials, seeing an opportunity to obtain the much-coveted "outlet into Narragansett Bay," forthwith sent an expeditionary army of forty men against Shawomet in

September, 1643. A battle ensued in which the Massachusetts Bay soldiery shot to pieces the English flag, which Gorton had raised upon his house. Happily, no one was killed. After a siege of several days the opposing commanders suspended hostilities and met in conference. By violating this truce, the Massachusetts' commander, Captain George Cooke, captured Gorton and his chief men, and then led them in a triumphal procession through Providence to Boston, where they were sentenced "to work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg and not to depart the limits of the town," during the pleasure of the court. Their property was confiscated to pay the expenses of the expedition, while their religious views were used to salve the consciences of the members of the court. Their families, left destitute, fled for refuge to Providence and Portsmouth.

Finding that Gorton and his company spread heretical doctrines where they were confined, the court, "not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty" in March, 1644. Upon regaining their freedom, the Gortonoses returned to Portsmouth, and appointed commissioners, who joined with those of the other towns in acting under the recently-received Charter of 1643. Coddington refused to recognize this Charter, which Roger Williams had secured by personal application in London, and with his faction endeavored to "maintain the government as before," as he wrote to Winthrop in 1646. He continued his intrigues with Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, until his usurpation of power in 1651.

On Friday, April 19, 1644, soon after his release by Massachusetts Bay, Gorton obtained from the Narragansett sachems an act of submission and allegiance to the English crown. Armed with this and a fluent pen, he sailed for England in the autumn of 1645. Upon arriving in London, Gorton, on behalf of himself and his friends, petitioned the King and Parliament for redress and for reinstatement at Shawomet. He also published, in 1646, as a part of his campaign against his enemies: "Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy. Or a true

complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English in New England, made unto the state of Old England, against cruell persecutors United in Church-Government;" a narrative of 111 closely printed pages recounting the unlawful and wicked actions of Massachusetts Bay in persecuting him and his followers.

The leaders of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, fearing the effect of Gorton's pen and tongue, commissioned Edward Winslow on December 4, 1646, to hasten to England and use his influence to counteract the work of the troublesome Gorton, and to further the ambitious territorial designs of these two colonies. As Governor Winthrop wrote: "Mr. Winslow's instructions were of two sorts; the one (which he might publish, etc. . . . The other were more secret, . . . )"

The envoy, whom Roger Williams describes as "That great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow," was the scion of a landed family of Worcestershire. He was born at Droitwich, on Saturday, October 18, 1595. He traveled on the continent, when a young man, and became acquainted with the Rev. John Robinson in Holland. In 1617 he joined the separatist church at Leyden, and on May 16, 1618, was married there to Elizabeth Barker. The twenty-fifth anniversary of his birthday he celebrated, or at least passed, on board the *Mayflower*, during her famous voyage. His wife died March 29, 1620/21, and within two months he was married again, on May 12th, to the widow, Susanna White, whose six-months-old son, Peregrine, was the first English child born in New England.

Winslow took a leading part in the negotiations with Ousamequin, alias Massasoit, which resulted in the understanding between the Wampanoags and Plymouth. He explored Boston Harbor, traded with the Dutch, and remained on terms of the closest friendship with Massasoit. In 1623, he returned to England with Robert Cushman, as agent for the Colony, and in the next year issued his "Good Newes from New England: or A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of

*Plimoth in NEW-ENGLAND.* Shewing the wondrous providence and goodness of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, *being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.*" He returned to Plymouth in the spring of 1624, but in the summer again went to England on behalf of the Colony. In this year, 1624, he was elected a member of the Court of Assistants, the governing board of the Colony, which office he held, except when he was Governor, until his departure for England in 1646.

In 1633, Winslow was elected Governor of the Colony. He had from the first been the leader in managing the commercial affairs of this Colony, which was a business venture as well as a religious settlement, with financial backers who expected monetary returns. During the following year, when returning from a trading expedition, he stopped at Sowams to visit his old friend Massasoit. The humorous Indian sent a messenger to Plymouth announcing the sad tidings of Winslow's death, thus throwing the Colonists into mourning and lamentations. The next morning Massasoit, accompanied by Winslow himself, arrived at Plymouth to the stupefaction and delight of the Colonists. The Sachem explained that he had sent the false message in order to make their arrival more welcome.

In 1635, he again visited England on a diplomatic mission for Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth. He was accused by Archbishop Laud, a political opponent, of having solemnized marriages, although a layman, and upon being convicted of this, he was committed to the Fleet prison and kept there for seventeen weeks. After his return to Plymouth, he was again chosen Governor, in 1636. In 1643, Winslow represented Plymouth at the meetings of the Confederation of the United Colonies of New England; in 1644, was again chosen Governor; and in 1645 he was President of the Council of War at Plymouth.

In December, 1646, he was sent to England once more, this time to oppose the efforts of Samuel Gorton and of the Hingham petitioners, who from within, as Gorton from without, were agitating the question of the repeated violation of English law

by the theocratic despots of Boston. Winthrop described Winslow at this time as "a fit man to be employed in our affairs in England, both in regard to his abilities of presence, speech, courage and understanding, as also being well known to the commissioners," who directed colonial affairs at this time.

Upon reaching England, Winslow was confronted with Gorton's book describing the wickedness of the theocratic politicians of Plymouth and the Bay, and so in an unsuccessful attempt to discredit Gorton and his book, immediately wrote and issued "Hypocrisy Unmasked By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Massachusets against Samuel Gorton (and his Accomplices) a notorious disturber of the Peace and quiet of the severall Governments wherein he lived . . ." It is this work which, in the following pages, is printed for the first time in America.

A manuscript copy of what appears to have been a variant of part of Winslow's original draft was printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for 1850, with notes by Charles Deane.

A portion of Winslow's tract, that which deals with "the true grounds or cause of the first planting of New England," was printed by Alexander Young, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," in 1841, pp. 379-408.

The complete text of each of the other tracts of this controversial series is accessible in nineteenth-century editions. Gorton's "Simplicities Defence" forms the second volume of the Rhode Island Historical Society's Collections, Providence, 1835, with notes by William R. Staples. It was printed again at Washington, D. C., in 1846, as No. 6 in the fourth volume of Peter Force's "Tracts."

Child's "New England's Jonas" was reprinted in 1816 in Vol. IV of the second series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, pp. 107-120. It also made No. 3 in the fourth volume of Force's Tracts, Washington, 1846.

It was again reprinted, with an introduction by W. T. R. Marvin, by Wm. Parsons Lunt, at Boston in 1869.

Winslow's reply to Child, "New-England's Salamander," was reprinted at Boston in 1830 in Vol. II of the third series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, pp. 110-145.

"Hypocrisie Unmasked" was reissued in England in 1649, the dedication being omitted and replaced by a table of contents, and the title being changed to "The Danger of tolerating Levellers in a Civill State; or an Historicall Narration of the dangerous, pernicious practices and opinions, wherewith Samuel Gorton and his levelling accomplices so much disturbed and molested the several Plantations in New England . . . ." The body of the book is made up of the same sheets as those which had appeared with the original title-page. The omission of the dedication to the Earl of Warwick was doubtless due to the fact that by that time Warwick had shown himself opposed to Winslow's petition, and the change in the title seems to have been made in order to lift the book from the sphere of local political interest to the then broader field of theological discussion, and so enable the bookseller to dispose of the copies remaining on his shelves.

In refuting the more serious of Gorton's charges, Winslow admits many which he considered of less importance, and so inadvertently gives a not very pleasing picture of New England's more powerful colonies.

The present reprint has been made from the copy of "Hypocrisie Unmasked" which is preserved at the *Library of Congress*. The copy of "The Danger of Tolerating Levellers," which is preserved in the Lenox Collection of the *New York Public Library*, has been followed for the table of contents. The title pages are reproduced from the copies at the *Boston Public Library*.

## The Reprint

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The title-page, *The Danger of Tolerating Levellers*,  
and the two pages of *Contents* are from the reissue  
of 1649, in which they replace the title-  
page and dedication of 1646.

# Hypocrisie Unmasked

B Y

A true Relation of the Proceedings of the  
Gouvernour and Company of the *Massachusetts* against  
SAMUEL GORTON (and his Accomplices) a notorious  
disirber of the Peace and quiet of the severall Governments  
wherein he lived: With the grounds and reasons thereof,  
examined and allowed by their Generall Court holden at Boston in  
*New-England* in November last, 1646.

Together with a particular Answer to the manifold flan-  
ders, and abominable falsehoods which are contained in a Book  
written by the said *GORTON*, and entituled, *Simplicities defence  
against Seven-headed Policy, &c.*

## DISCOVERING.

To the view of all whose eyes are open, his manifold  
Blasphemies; As also the dangerous agreement which he and his  
Accomplices made with ambitious and treacherous *Indians*, who  
at the same time were deeply engaged in a desperate Conspiracy  
to cut off all the rest of the *English* in the other Plantations.

VVhereunto is added a briefe Narration (occasioned by  
certain aspersions) of the true grounds or cause of the first Plan-  
ting of *New-England*; the President of their Churches in the  
way and Worship of God; their Communion with the *Reformed  
Churches*; and their practise towards those that dissent from  
them in matters of Religion and Church-Government.

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By *Edw. Winflow.*

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Psal. 120. 3. *What shall be given unto thee, or what shall be done unto  
thee thou false tongue?*

Verf. 4. *Sharpe arrows of the Mighty, with coales of Juniper.*

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Published by Authority.

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London, Printed by Rich. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three Golden  
Lions in Cornhill, neare the Royall Exchange, 1646.

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THE  
Danger of Tolerating  
LEVELLERS  
In a Civill State :

OR,

An Historicall Narration of the dangerous pernicious practices and opinions, where-with *SAMUEL GORTON* and his Levelling Accomplices so much disturbed and molested the severall Plantations in *NEW-ENGLAN*E;  
( Parallel to the positions and proceedings of the present Levellers in *OLD-ENGLAND*.)

Wherein their severall Errors dangerous and very destructive to the peace both of Church and State, their carriage and reviling language against Magistracy and all Civill power, and their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God:

TOGETHER,

With the Course that was there taken for suppressing them, are fully set forth;

With a Satisfactory Answer to their Complaints made to the PARLIAMENT:

By *Edw. Winslow of Plymouth in New-England*:

London, Printed by Rich. Cotes for John Eellony at the three Golden Lions in Corn-hill, neare the Royall Exchange, 1649.





TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
ROBERT

Earl of *Warwick*, Governour in Chiefe,  
and Lord High Admirall of all those Islands and  
other Plantations of the *English* in AMERICA;  
Together with the rest of those truly Honorable  
Members of both Houses of Parliament joynd in  
Commission with him for ordering the  
affaires of the said *Plantations*.

Right Honourable,

 Ere not your Wisdome and experience in the great and weighty affaires of State so well known, and were yee not so much accustomed to the unjust complaints of clamorous persons, I might be discouraged to appeare in the righteous cause of the United Colonies of New-England, and more especially in the behalf of the Governour and Company of the Maffachusets, to render a reaon of their just and righteous proceedings against Samuel Gorton and his Companions, who however (where they are unknown) they goe here under the garbe of a peaceable people; yet if your Honours, and the rest of the Honourable Committee shall be pleased (when more weighty employments shall give way) to peruse our just defence against his clamorous complaints, and scandalous Treatise, called, Simplicities defence against

## The Epistle DEDICATORY.

Seven-headed Policy, &c. *I make no question but yee will receive full satisfaction in what we have done, and be ready to justifie our proceedings against them as godly, and righteous.*

*The reasoun wherefore I am forced to appeare in Print before I give a particular answer to your Honours, and the rest of the Honourable Committee, is, because I find a more groffe deformatory aspercion cast upon the Countrey to the publick view of our Nation: which as it is deare in our eyes (witneffe our frequent publick solemn dayes of prayer to the Throne of grace for it, together with our private supplications, which the Searcher of the heart best knows, sympathizing with it in every condition, to the losse of Ships, Goods, &c. to the great weakening of our estates) so wee desire to remove whatsoever may fadden the thoughts of our Nation against us; especially your Honours, and all that are godly in Christ Jesus.*

*What greater wrong can bee done a poore persecuted people that went into the wilderneffe to avoid the tyrannicall Government of the late Hierarchy, and to enjoy the Liberties Christ Jesus hath left unto his Churches (which thefe blasphemous Adversaries of ours, so much sleight and cast off) then to be accounted perfecutors of Christ in his Saints, yea, to go thither to that end, to become outragiously cruell, barbarously inhumane, uniting together to fuck the blood of our Country-men, &c. And yet Right Honorable, it will and doth appear in the following Treatise, that Samuel Gorton was prosecutted against, First, at Plymouth as a groffe disturber of the Civill peace and quiet of that Government, in an open factious and seditious manner. Secondly, hee was no leffe troublesome, but much more at Roade Island, having gotten a strong party to adhere unto him, affronting that Government (as Plymouth) in their publique administration of Justice so foully and groffely, as mine eares never heard the like of any; to which Relation in the following Discourse I referre*

### The Epistle DEDICATORY.

referre your Honours, being compiled as briefly as may bee. Gorton being there whipt in his person, and thence banished with some of his principall adherents, they went next to Providence, where Mr. Williams, and some others have built a small Towne. This people receiving them with all humanity in a cold seafon, when the former places could no longer beare his insolencies; hee foone undermined their Government, gained a strong party amogst them to his owne, to the great distractiōn of Mr. Williams, and the better party there, contending against their Laws, and the execution of Justice, to the effusion of bloud, which made Mr. Williams and the rest sadly complaine to the Government of the Maffachufets, and divers of them take the protection of that Government, to defend their persons and estates. But when they saw Mr. Williams reslove rather to lose the benefit of his labours, then to live with such ill-affected people, and the neighbour Governments become affected with Gortons mis-rule there also, hee (and his Companions in evill) began then to thinke of buying a place of a great aspiring Sachim, or Indian Prince, to the wrong of the proper Owners, (two inferiour Sachims) who also, as well as divers English of Providence, submitted their persons and lands to the Government of the Maffachufets, and defird their protection not onely against the oppressing tyranny of Myantonimo the foresaid Great Sachim; but against Gorton and his Companions, who intruded into their proper right, by unwarrantable meanes, &c. Now the Government of the Mafsachusets having used all due meanes and none prevailing, but their gentlenesse answered with the greatest contempt that might bee: At the next Meeting of the Commissioners for the United Colonies they complained of Gorton and his irregular Companions, which the said Commissioners tooke into serious consideration, and the more because

### The Epistle DEDICATORY.

of Gortons, &c. extraordinary familiarity with Myantonomo, and the rest of the Nanohigganset Sachims, who were knowne to bee in a deepe Conspiracy against all the English in the Land at the same time. And therefore by a solemne Act gave liberty to the Government of the Massachusets to call them to account, and proceed with them so farre as might stand with righteousnesse and justice, which they accordingly did.

Now these Right Honourable, &c. are the true causes of all the Censures and punishments that befell Gorton in the Countrey; onely needlesly in his and their contemptuous answers to the modest and well-ordered Writings of the said Government of the Massachusets, they belched forth such horrid blasphemies, not onely against them in particular, and Civill Government in the generall, but against the received Christian Religion of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, as well as our selves; Infomuch as many tender Consciences, both Ministers and others, thought the Government did not well in giving him such liberty, whereby hee may and doth (as is reported) poyson other persons and places with his corrupt opinions, to the great dishonour of God, and ruine of the soules of his followers, who reject the meanes of grace God hath sanctified to strengthen and build up his people in faith and holynesse.

But that I may not bee tedious, I shall presume to prefferre these following requestis to your Honours and the rest of the honoured Committee this Renowned Parliament hath betrusted with the affaires of the Forraigne Plantations of our Nation: The first is to strengthen the Censure of the Massachusets by your favourable approbation, so farre as it shall appeare to bee just and righteous; and then shall the Countrey bee the more preserved from their feares of the Gortonians desperate close with so dangerous enemies as their malig-

### The Epistle DEDICATORY.

*malignant neighbours the Nanohiggansets; which I perswade my selfe, if your leisures will suffer you to read the following Discourse, you will easily condescend unto; there being nothing (I thanke God in it) affirmed by mee, but as it is affirmed hereunto I may safely depose. A second thing is, that yee will never suffer Samuel Gorton this pestilent disturber of our Societies, any more to goe to New-England to disquiet the peace thereof. My third request is , that yee will be pleased to suffer New-Plymouth, to enjoy their former liberty in the line of their Government, which includeth their very seat, even Shawamet it selfe, where Gorton and his Company dwelt. My fourth request is, to take into your serious consideration , how destructive it will prove to the well-being of our Plantations and proceedings there, (who by Gods bles-sing are growing up into a Nation) here to answer to the complaints of such malignant spirits as shall there bee censured by Authority, It being three thousand miles distant, so far as will undoe any to come for Justice, utterly disabling them to prove the equity of their cause, unleffe their estate bee very great. My fifth and last request is, that your Honours , and the rest of the Honoured Committee will be pleased to patronize the weake labours of your humble servant , in the just defence hee hath made for New-England , and the severall Govern-mnets of it (especially the Massachusets) against the groffe calumnies of the fore-mentioned scandalous Treatise published by the said Gorton : And herein yee shall not onely oblige our Plantations of New-England to continue their daily re-quest to the God of all mercies for a blessing upon this Renown-ed Parliament, and your Honours, and the rest of this Honoured Committee in especiall, but to engage with, and for them and you, against all opposers of the State, to the last drop of bloud in our veines; yea, hereby shall you sweeten the tedious travells, great charges and labours of me their unworthy Agent, who doe*

*and*

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

*and shall daily pray to God to recompense your vast hazzards, expenses, studies, and cares, (to advance the Weale Publike of this distreffed Kingdome, and the severall limbs thereof) with all the blessings of Heaven and earth to you and yours to fucceeding Generations.*

Yours Honours humble devoted servant,

E D V V . W I N S L O V V .



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A

# TRVE RELATION

OF THE

## Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the *Massachusetts* in *New-England*, against

### *Samuel Gorton* and his Accomplices; with the grounds and reasons thereof, examined and allowed by their Generall Court holden at *Boston* in November, 1646.



*S*MUEL *GORTON* lived sometime at *Plymouth*, where his behaviour was so turbulent and offensive both to the Magistrates and others, as they were neceffitated to drive him out of their Jurifdiction. From thence hee went to *Roade-Island*, where hee began to raiſe fedition, and to make a party against the Authority there; for which hee was apprehended and whipped, and so ſent away. From thence (with ſome others whom hee had gathered to his part) hee removed to *Providene*, where Mr. *Roger Williams* then lived. Hee (with ſome others) oppofed his ſitting down there as an Inhabitant, onely in regard of his preſent diſtreſſe, they gave way for his abode for a time. But being once houſed, hee ſoon drew ſo great a party to him, as it was beyond the power of Mr. *Williams* and his party to drive them out, or to rule them there; ſo as both parties came armed into the field each againſt other, and had fought it out, had not Mr. *Williams* uſed meaneſ for pacification.

B

Hereupon

2    *The Magistrates proceedings at Boston in New-England,*

Hereupon many of the chiefe of *Providence* sent messengers with a Letter to the Governour and Councell of the *Massachusetts*, desiring aide against *Gorton* and his company; but they were answereed, that not being within our Jurisdiction nor confederation we had no ground to interpose in their quarrells. Soone after some of those men tended themselves and their lands to come under our Government, and were received.

There live neere to *Providence* two small Indian *Sachims* called *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, who though they are as free as the great *Sachim* of the *Nanohigganset*: Yet *Myantonimo* the then *Sachim* of *Nanohigganset*(being a very proud and sterne man) kept them in great awe. This poore *Sachim Pumham* had a large parcell of land neer *Providence*, very convenient for plantation, which *Gorton* and his company (being now about 13, or 14.) taking notice of, and fearing they shold not be able to keep their power long where they were, dealt with *Myantonimo* for this parcell of land, promising him a good parcell of *Wampam* for it. And because they knew that *Pumham* was the true owner of it, they dealt with him also; but he refusing to sell it (for hee dwelt upon it, or very neare to it) they caused *Myantonimo* to send for him, and having drawn a Writing purporting the sale thereof for a certaine consideration to bee given to both of them, *Myantonimo* signed it, and hee for feare of *Myantonimo* set his mark to it also, not knowing what it was. But when *Gorton* tended him the consideration for it, hee utterly refus'd it, it being the Indians manner not to account any thing fold, till the party have received the thing it is fold for.

But upon this colourable title *Gorton* and his company enter uppon the land, and build some houses, and withall much wrong the Indians with their cattle, and having *Myantonimo* their friend, behave themselves very insolently toward the poor Indians, who (having no friends or meanes to relieve themselves) came and tended themselves and their lands to the government of the *Massachusetts*, who (by order of the Court)gave notice thereof to *Myantonimo*, and appointed him to come or send to the next Court at *Boston*, to shew his title or interest (if hee had any) to the said *Pumham* and *Socononoco* or their lands. At the time appointed hee came, and pretended that they were his vassalls, but it appeared clearly both by a writing from Mr. *Williams*, and the testimony of some other English in those parts, and of divers other Indians no way related to them,

them, that they were free *Sachims*; so as *Myantonimo* having nothing to reply, the Court received the two Indian *Sachims* with their subjects and lands under the government and protection of the *Massachusetts*; and upon that writ to our neighbours of *Providence*, intimating the same to them, and advising *Gorton* and his company, that if they had any just title to the lands they possessed, they should come, or send some for them to shew the same to the Court, and offered them safe conduct. This letter from the Court they tooke in great disdaine, and returned scornfull and menacing answers by word of mouth, and a good time after they wrote a letter to the Court full of reproach and blasphemies, not onely against the Magistrates, but against the Churches and Ordinances, as by the Copy thereof hereafter following will appeare. Notwithstanding these provocations and daily wrongs offered to those few English their neighbours ( who had formerly submitted themselves to our Government) wee fate still neare halfe a yeare, and before we attempted any thing against them, wee advised with the Commissioners of the united Colonies , who (upon testimony of their insolent and injurious courses, and perusal of the letter they sent to us) left them to us to proceed according to Justice. Whereupon the Court sent againe to them by two of their members, who carried letters (to require and perswade them to come and give satisfaction,) and a safe Conduct withall; but they entertained those Messengers as they had done the former, threatening to whip one, whom they tooke along with them; and sent us word, that if wee had any thing to say to them, wee should come to them, and wee should have justice there, and that if wee came with force, they would meet us half the way. Our messengers returning with these scornfull answers, the Court resolved to send some force to fetch them in; and in the mean time there came a second letter from them;(the Copy whereof is hereafter also set downe) but before wee sent forth our fouldiers, wee wrote to them to this effect: *Viz.* That although the injuries and provocations wee had indured from them were very grievous, yet that our Justice and moderation might appeare to all men, wee had condescended so farre to their owne proposition, as wee would send some Commissioners to them, to heare their answers and allegations, and if thereupon they would give us such satisfaction as should bee just, wee would leave them in peace; if otherwise, wee would right our selves by force of Armes: And signified withall,

4     *The Magistrates proceedings at Boston in New-England,*

that wee would fende a sufficient guard with our Commissioners; for seeing they would not trust themselves with us upon our safte conduct, wee had no reasoun to trust any of ours with them upon their bare curtefie. Accordingly about a week after wee sent three Commissioners, and 40 Musqueteers with them, with instructions, first to speake and treate with them, and to require satisfaction according to Justice, and if it were denied, then to take them by force, and bring them prisoners to *Boston*; and to take withall so much of their substance as shoulde satisfie our charges. By the way as they went they met with another letter from them, letting them know, that they feared them not, but were prepared for them: And accordingly they had fortified themselves in one houfe (some 12 of them) and had lined the walls with earth (Musket proofe) and had made Flanckers, and provided victualls, &c. to indure a siege. So that when our Commissioners came to the place, they would admit no parly. But after a while, by the mediation of some of their neighbours, they were content to parley, and offered to referre the caufe to Arbitrators, so as some of them might bee of *Providence*, or of *Roade Island*. Our Commissioners were content to fende to us to know our minds about it, and in the meane time fate still. Such of the Court as could meet, returned answere that their Proposition was neither seafonable nor reaonable, nor could it bee safe or honourable for us to accept thereof : 1 Because they would never offer nor hearken to any termes of agreement before our fouldiers had them in their power. 2 Because the ground of their Proposition was false, for wee were not parties (as they pretended) but equall Judges between the *Indians* and others who were complaignants, and themselves, (and yet in a case of warre, parties may bee Judges.) 3 They were no State, or Body politique, but a few fugitives living without Law or Government, and so not honourable for us to joyne with them in such a way of reference. 4 The parties whom they would referre it unto, were such as had been rejected by us, and all the Governments in the Country, and so not likely to bee equall to us, nor able to judge of the caufe: and their blasphemous and reproachfull writings, &c. were not matters fit to bee composed by Arbitrement, (being deeply criminall) but either to bee purged away by repentance and publique satisfaction, or else by publique punishment. For these and other reasons, the Commissioners were required to proceed according to their Instructions.

cions. And thereupon they intrenched themselves about the house, and in few dayes forced them to yeld, and so brought them to *Boston*, where they were kept in prisone till the Court sate, and had their dyet from the Cookes (as good meat and drinke as the Towne afforded.) The next Lords day they refused to goe to the Church assembly, except they might have liberty to speake there, as occasion shoulde be. They were answere by some of the Magistrates that it appertained to the Elders to order the affaires of the Church, but they might presuppose they shoulde not bee denied such liberty, speaking words of truth and soberneſſe. So in the afternoon they came, and were placed in a convenient seat before the Elders. Mr. *Cotton* the Teacher taught then (in his ordinary course) out of *A&s 19. of Demetrius speech for Diana her silver shrine*. After Sermon *Gorton* desired leave to speake, which being granted, hee tooke occasion from the Sermon to speake to this effect, That in the Church now there was nothing but Christ, so that all our Ordinances, Ministers, and Sacraments, &c. were but mens inventions, for shew and pomp, and no other then those silver shrines of *Diana*. He said also, that if Christ lives eternally, then he died eternally, and other speeches of like kinde. And indeed it appeareth both by his speeches and letters, that it was his opinion, that Christ was incarnate in *Adam*, and was that image of God, wherein *Adam* was created; and that the chiefe worke and merit lay in his *Inanition*, when he became such a thing, so meane, &c. and that his being borne after of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffering, &c. was but a manifeſtation of his suffering, &c. in *Adam*. Another of them said that the Sabbath was Christ, and so was borne of the Virgin *Mary*. They called Magistracy among Christians an Idol; yet they did acknowledge a Magistracy in the world to bee subjected to as an Ordinance of God, but onely as naturall; as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary Prince over his subjects.

Their first appearance before the Court was upon the Lecture day at *Boston*, before a very great Assembly, where first the Governour declared the cause and manner of all the proceedings against them, and their Letters were openly read, and they had liberty to object, and answers were given, as followeth:

First, to their plea, That they were not within our Jurisdiction; it was answere: 1 If they were not within ours, yet they were within the Jurisdiction of one of our confederates, who had refer-

6     *The Magistrates proceedings at Boston in New-England,*  
red them to us. 2 If they were within no Jurisdiction, then was  
there none to complaine to for redreffe of our injuries in way of  
ordinary Justice, and then we had no way of relief but by force of  
Armes.

Secondly, to their plea *Of persecution for their Conscience, &c.* It  
was answered, that wee did not meddle with them for their opin-  
ions, otherwife then they had given us occasion, by their owne Let-  
ters and free speeches amongst us, for wee wrote to them about ci-  
vill Controversies onely, and gave them no occasion to vent their  
blasphemies and revilings against the Ordinances of Religion fet up  
with us.

Thirdly, for their title to the *Indians* lands: wee had divers  
times desired them to make it appeare; but they alwayes refused,  
even to our Commissioners, whom ( according to their owne  
motion ) wee sent laft to them: and fince they were in prifon,  
wee offered them to fend for any witneffes they would name  
to us for that end, but this also they refused. So that our  
title ( by the Indians furrender ) appeareth good, and having  
regained poſſeffion, we need not question them any further about  
that.

Their Letters being read and their Subſcriptions acknowledged,  
they were demanded feverally if they would maintaine thoſe things  
which were contained therein. Their anſwer was, that they would,  
in that ſenſe they wrote them, and fo were returned to prifon. The  
next day they were brought before the Court feverally to be ex-  
amined upon particulars, ( many of the Elders being desired to bee  
prefent) becaufe they had ſaid they could give a good interpretation  
of every part of their Letters. But the interpretation they gave  
being contrary to the words, they were demanded if they would  
then retract thoſe words, fo plainly diſſerent from their pretended  
meanings. But this they refuled to doe, ſaying, that then they  
ſhould deny the Truth; for instance in one or two. Their Let-  
ters were directed, one of them, *To their Neighbours of the Maffachusetts:* and the other, *To the great honoured Idoll Generall of the Maffa-  
chusets*, and by a meſſenger of their owne delivered to our Gover-  
nour, and many paſſages in both Letters particularly applyed to  
our Courts, our Magiſtrates, our Elders, &c. and yet upon their  
examinations about their meanings in their reproachfull paſſages,  
they anſwered that they meant them, of the corrupt estate of man-  
kinde

kinde in generall, and not of us. So, whereas in their Letter they charged it upon us, as an error that we teach, *That Christ dyed Actually onely*, when he suffered under *Pontius Pilate*; and before, onely in *Types*, &c. upon their examination they said, that their meaning was, that his death was actuall to the faith of the Fathers under the Law, (which is in effect the same which we hold:) Yet they would not retract their words they had written. The Elders conferred many houres with them before the Court, and by occasion thereof they discovered divers blasphemous opinions, which they maintained, we will instance one which was mentioned before, delivered by *Gorton*, viz. that the Image of God wherein *Adam* was created, was Christ; and *Adams* loosing that Image was the death of Christ, and the restorung of that Image in the Regeneration, was the resurrection of Christ: and so the death of him that was borne of the Virgin *Mary* was but a manifesterion of the former. Master *William Tompson* one of the Elders had spent some time with them before in the prifon about the opinions which they held forth, and they had professed their agreement with him (for substance) in every point, so as he came to the Court with a purpose to speak in their behalf, but when he heard themselves discover thus upon their publique examinations, he shewed how he had beene deluded by them. For they excell the *Jesuites* in the art of equivocation, and regard not how false they speake, to all other mens apprehensions, so they keepe to the rules of their owne secret intentions. Being asked why they spake against the Ordinances of the Ministery, Sacraments, &c. seeing the Scripture allowes them? They answere that they were ordained onely for the time of Nonage, but after the Revelation was written, they were to cease, because we finde no mention of them in that booke.

They were unlearned men, the ablest of them could not write true english, no not in common words, yet they would take upon them to interpret the moft difficult places of Scripture, and wrefte them any way to serve their owne turne. As for instance, Mr. *Cotton* preffing *Gorton* with that in *Act. 10*. Who can forbid water, why these shoulde not be baptifed, &c. He interpreted thus, who can deny but these have beene baptifed, seeing they have received the Holy Ghost, &c. so he allowed them to have beene baptifed. This shift he was put to, that he might maintaine his opinion, viz: that such as have beene baptizid with the Holy Ghost, need not the baptisme  
of

8    *The Magistrates proceedings at Boston in New-England,*

of water. Divers dayes were spent both by the Court and the Elders in labouring to bring them to repentance, but all in vain. They continued obftinate. Whereupon they agreed to fentence them, but first they brought them in publique before a great Affembly, and there (out of their Letters and Speeches) they laid upon them this charge, *viz.* they were found to be blasphemous enemies of the true Religion of our Lord Jefus Christ, and of all his holy Ordinances, and likewife of all Civill Government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded, if they did acknowledge this charge to be juft, and would submit to it, or what exception they had againt it? They answere, they did not acknowledge it to be juft, but they fell into fome cavilling speeches, fo they were returned unto prifon againe. Being in prifon they behaved themſelves inſolently towards their keeper, and ſpake evillof the Magiftrates, fo as the keeper was forced to threaten them with Irons, to keepe them quiet.

After all meanes uſed to reclaime them, and not prevailing, they were brought before the Court to receive their fentence, which was this. *Gorton* and fix more of them, were to be fent to feveral townes, there to bee kept to worke for their livingſ, and to weare an Iron chaine upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the Towne, nor by word or writing to maintaine any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon paine of death, except in conference with any of the Elders, or any other allowed by fome Magistrate to conferre with them; and this to continue during the pleafure of the Court. Three of the Company (because they had not their hands to the Letters) were fet at libertie, two of them upon a ſmall ranfome as prisoners taken in warre, and the other, freely, for that he was amogſt them in his Maſters houſe, where they were taken; a fourth being found to be a plaine ignorant young man was diſcharged alſo, onely enjoyed to abide a time in one of our Townes, but hee went away and returned no more, contrary to his promife. There were two other who were brought in after; (but not by force) the one of them diſclaiming to have any hand in the Letters, was diſcharged preſently; the other was kept a while in prifon, and after upon his ſubmiſſion &c. was released.

*Gorton* and the other fix remained in the feveral Townes all that Winter; and then in regard of their wifes and children (who were like to be much diſtreſſed by their husbands abſence) they were ſet at liberty,

liberty, and banished upon paine of death if they were found in any part of our jurisdiction.

After the Court had passed sentence upon them for their confinement, we sent to fetch so many of their Cattle, as might defray the charges they had put us to, which amounted to about one hundred and sixty pounds, but the Cattle came not to so much, for we left every of them a part for the support of their families, and some of them had no Cattle at all.

The Letters follow,

*Moofhawset Novemb: 20. 1642.*

*To our Neighbours of the Massachusets.*

**VV**Hereas we lately received an irregular note, professing its forme from the Massachusets, with four mens names subscribed thereunto, as principall authors of it, of the chiefe amongst you; We could not easily give credit to the truth thereof, not onely because the conveyers of it unto us, are knowne to bee men, whose constant and professed acts are worse, then the counterfeiting of mens hands; but alſo, becaufe we thought that men of your parts and profession, would never have proſtrated their wiſdom to ſuch an act. But conſidering that cauſleſſe enmity you have againſt us; the prooſe whereof, every occaſion brings forth; Wee cannot but conclude, that no act ſo ill which that ancient motheſ will not bring forth her feed unto. For wee know very well, that it is the name of Chriſt called upon us, which you ſtrive againſt; Thence it iſ that you ſtand on tip-toe, to ſtretchyourselves beyond your bounds; to feeke occaſion againſt us; (So)as you might hide your ſinne with *Adam*, bearing the world in hand; it is not your deſire to contend with us; But ſome civill breach in our courſes, which you onely feeke to redrefſe. Whereas neither you, nor any (in way of truthe) can finde wherewith, to bring us under the Cenſure of a diſorderly courſe of walking amongſt men: And as for the way of that ancient ſpirit of accuſation of the brethren, we weigh it not, knowing him to be a lyer, (or in the abstract, a lye) from the beginning, yea and the father of it alſo; which thing you cannot know, though it were told unto you.

Whereas you ſay, *Robert Cole, William Arnauld* with others, have put themſelves under the Government and protection of your Ju-

risdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend; we wish your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found, being nothing but the shame of Religion, Disquiet, and Disturbance of the place where they are. For, we know neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and Confederates, have power to enlarge the bounds, by Kinge *Charles* limited unto you.

Behold therefore in this your act, a Map of your spirituall estate, (to use your owne phrase) for we know that the Spirituallity of your Churches, is the Civility of your Commonweale, and the Civility of your Comonwealth, is the spirituality of your Churches, the wisdome of man, being the whole accomplishment of them both; of which Tree, you delight dayly to eate (finding it faire and beautifull) to gaine Conformity with your maker. In these your Diffembling subiects; grofely profane amongst us, but full of the spirit of your purity, when they are with you, you may remember the brandyour selves have set upon some of them, the Caus wherof was never yet removed, though it abide not upon their backe; Nor yet the Caus of your Commitment of them unto *Sathan* according unto your Law, for if that were removed, you should doe them wrong, in not resuming your vomit into its former Concoction againe; Nor are we ignorant of those disgracefull tearmes they use, and give out against you, behind your backes, their submision therefore can bee to no other end, but to satisfie their owne lusts, not onely conceived, but in violent motion, against their Neighbours, who never offered the least wrong unto them, only the proposition of Amity, is object sufficient, for these mens enmitie.

Even so the passions of sin, which are by the Law, having force in your Members; you going about with great labour and industry to satisfie them by your submision unto the word of God, in your Fasting, and feasting, in Contributing, and treasuring, in retirednesse for Study, and bowing of the backes of the poore, going forth in labour to maintaine it, and in the spirit of that hireling, raisng up, your whole structure and edifice, in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death, some labouring for a price to give for the keeping of their foules, in peace and safe estate and Condition, and some to have their bodies furnished with riches, honour and easse, and further then the Lord Jesus agrees with these, you mind him not, nay you renounce and reject him, and with thefe

theſe (according to your Acceptation and practice) he holds no Correfpondency at all, being the Conſultation and operation of that his onely adverfarie, man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, Crying out in way of Elevation, and ap- lauding his minifters, when in the meane time, you know not what, nor who they are, profeſſing them under a mediate Call of Chrift, though formerly, they have beene Called immediately by him, her- by flowing your ſelves to be thoſe, that destroy the Sacred ordi- nance of God: For if you make Chrift to be that to day, in ſtate- ing his minifters; which he was not yesterdaу, and that in the tyme of the Gofpell alſo, (to ſpeak according to your Law) to be found in them both, you therin affirm, that he hath beene that to his minifters, which now he is not, and to make the Son of God to have beene that which now he is not, is to make a Nullitie of him, not to be at all, for he is the Lord that changeth not, no not a shadow therof is found in him, fo that you plainly Crucifie unto your ſelves, the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame; So that as you know not, how Chrift, conuerſing with his father in heaven, is found on the earth, amongſt the true wor- ſhippers, no more do you know, how in his conuerſing with *Ni- codemus* on the earth, he concludes himſelfe to be in heaven, with his father. On this foundation hangeth the whole building of your Doctrine, concerning the ſufferings of Chrift, you Annihilate the Croſs, then the which, the Saints have no other Confolation: and prepare no better a place then Purgatory, for the honourable fathers of our Lord: For you conclude, that Chrift dyed in the Decree, and purpose God, in the time of the Law, but actually onely when he hanged on the Croſſe in the dayes of *Herod* and *PontiusPi- late*, that hee was crucified in the types and shadowes of the law, but in the truth, and ſubſtance, when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: So muſt you alſo conclude that the fathers under the law, were only faved, in purpoſe and Decree, in Type and shadow, but actually and ſubſtantially onely at the Comming of Chrift in the flesh: therefore deale plainly with thoſe that depend upon you for iñſtruction (as your Anceſtors in the papacie have don) and pro- claime a place of purgatorie, provided for them in the meane, without which, your Doctrine hath no foundation. For if you raife up a shadow, without a ſubſtance, and the ſubſtance of him that dwel- leth in light, without a shadow, you play the part of Wifards, or

[Errata: read *Massachusetts* instead of *Bos- ton* in the head- lines to page 37.]

[Errata, l. 27, read purpose of God.]

Necromancers, not the part of true Naturalists, in the things of the Kingdome of god.

So that as farre as thefe men are from beinge honourable and loyall subjects, so farre are you from being voluntaries in the Day of Gods power, and from yeelding subjection unto the Beauties of holineſſ. Such also is your profeſſed Rule, and Government, in the things that concern the Kingdom of our God, they are infinitely beyond, and out of the Reach of that Spirit which is gone out amongſt you, the Capacity whereof can no wayes comprehend, the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, nor entreth it within the Vale, Therefore it cannot know thoſe Cherubims of glory, neither can it heare the voice of that lively Oracle, ſpeaking onely from off the covering Mercy-feate, and not elsewhere to be heard; We ſpeake not but what wee know, theſe things are out of its Jurifdiſtion; Therefore dumb in telling Juſtice, nor ſpeakes it any of that Righteouſneſſe and glory, comprefyfed in another circuit, then ever you were yet made Lords of: Long therfore may you boarſt, of your Jurifdiſtion before ever you attaine unto a *Jurisprudentia*, in theſe things.

In that you tell us wee offer you wrong, by a pretended purcaſe: you are as much miſtaſken in the purcaſe, as in the wrong, For it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purcaſe a pretence, but precedentiall, not onely in this Civill reſpect, but may alſo admoniſh all men, to take heed, how they depend upon falſe and ſelf-seeking interpreters, when both themſelves, and they that have the viſion, are ignorant of the Contract, and Covenant of God. Thence it is, that you teach, that the ſpoufe of Christ, upon Contract with her Lord, may conceiue the feed of immortalitic, and bring forth fruit unto God, when as yet the day of mariage, that great Feaſtitie, and folemnization, of the Conſolations of God, is not yet comne, witneſſe your prorogation thereof, if not to the Defcenſion of Christ from heaven unto the earth, to Raigne certaine years, yet to the Calling of the Jewes, whom yee your ſelves are, according to the fleſh, and to the deſtruclion of that Man of finn whom yee ſo stoutly maintain, What is this, but to proclaime unto all the world, that Audacious ſpirit of whoredoms, profeſſing Conception and bringing forth before the Nuptiall day?

In that you conclude your Clyents Right to arife out of fourē years poſſeſſion, wee have no ſuch order, if you meane the Right  
of

of Conquest, (only held in that tenure) the true owners were never yet subdued, for that is the right they expect to injoy by you, for some of them committed part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was, that they might have help, to injoy the rest; But when they saw, wee would not be Abetters unto them without, much lesse contrary unto Covenant, then they flye unto you for help, Their possession, beeing a meere intrusion, as all the Natives know and ever exlaymed against them for the same, And so may our Countrymen also, whose eyes are not dazled with envie, and eares open to Lyes, as we know yours are, else you had heard both fydes speake, before you had Judged.

But wee professe right held, according to no such interest, but upon the ground of Covenant only, knowne in its nature; In the parties 'twixt whom it is plight, In the posseffer, and the posseffed, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrence, together with their Distinct, Harmonicall, Reciprocall, and Joint properties, and operations of them both: Such is the tenure wee hould, and maintain, before men and Angels, and oppose it against man and Divell, Not in taking up unto our selves, certaine offices and officers which wee can teach children to bee, and to perform, and from thence presently to conclude, the possession of the Kingdome, Crying out our peace offerings are upon us, this Day we have payd our vowes. But when that Dark cloud descended upon the Tabernacle, becomes the light, and glory of all Israell (there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence) then, and then only, are the orders, as also the men of Israell, derived from the true fountaine, which no tongue can confess, but it is salvation, and then, not else, is the heritage of our Lord in possession, yea, even the wayles wilderneſſe knowes, how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountaines were borne: which men begin to flye unto for refuge, to hide them from the presence of the Lamb: this is a possession, which no man can intrude himselfe into: it is only Covenanted with him, thorow an inlightned eye, and boared eare, which man performeth not, nor can it be received from him.

For wee know that Cloud of thick darkneſſe, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabrick of the work of God, to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof: yea to us,

14      *The first letter of Samuel Gorton and his Accomplices,*

it is even that cloud of witnes, which testifies unto us, the like workes to appeare, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us.

Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day, but in the one, and the other, the only glory and saftie of all the tribes: but how, you know not, nor can you with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wildernes, and accordingly, have made the whole way, and will of our Lord, the ouldneffe of the letter, both to your felvess, and to all that have an eare to liffen unto you; Thence it is that the day of [Errata: 1. 11, of read. day the Lord.] Lord, is a day of Darknes and Gloominess unto you, but of Joy and gladness unto us; yea, it lifts up our head onely, and then is our salvation neere; For wee know the worthies of *David* doubled about the bed of *Solomon*, which expell all feare in the night, handling the fword with suces, making the adverfaries nothing but meat to feede upon, so that the tyme of your feares is the time of our Courage and Conquest, for when you feare errour, schisme, Rents and Confusions in Church and state, then do wee know the Meffenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom wee seek is speeding his paſſage into his holy temple: For who ( under the terrors of your fpirit) may abide his Coming, hee being like a refiners fire, and Fullers fope ?

In that you invite us unto your Courts to fetch your equall balanced justice, upon this ground, that you are becomme one with our adverfaries, and that, both in what they have, and what they are, and wee know them to bee fuch, as profefs the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing. Now, if wee have our opponant, to prefer his action against us, and not only fo, but to bee our Counfell, our Jurie, and our Judg, for fo it muſt bee, if you bee one with them (as you affirm) wee know before hand, how our Caufe will bee ended, and fee the fcale of your equall Justice turned alreadie, before wee have layd our Caufe therein, and cannot but admire, to fee you caſed fo contrarie to your owne received principles: For you know not how to finde Chrift as a Ruling and teaching Elder both in one perfon, therfore he is not Complete amongst you by your owne law, except in feveral persons, and you may thank tradition, elſe you know no more how to finde both a king and a prieft in him, and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto us you know how to become one with our adverfaries (fo) as if

if wee deale with them, wee deale with you, and if wee have to doe with you, wee have to doe with them alfo, yea further, wee know, that the chiefe amongſt you, have profeffed wee are not worthy to live; and that if ſome of us were amongſt you, wee ſhould hardly ſee the place of our abode any more; Now that they have brooded upon their law, to take away life, they muſt much more bring it up, in taking away all means of life, Witnes our prohibition, that no powder ſhould beſouled unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not thinke your ſelves ſafe, in all your owne, ſelf provision and worldly furniture , except youdiſarmed a company of poor Indians, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made Naked, as hee doth all thoſe which triumph in a Calf, though the moſt coſtly and beautiſull, that the Jewells and eare-rings of Learning, either in Language, or art, can poſſibly bring forth: your owne amazements upon meer Rumors, may teſtifie the truthe hereof; ſo then; wee are Judged by your law before our Caufe bee hard, or our ſelves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleaſing unto us , to have our Condition conformed unto *Moses* the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaohs* account, before he was brought forth, and ſo it was with Christ our lord, in the dayes of *Herod* alfo, who is our life ( at which you ftrike ) and makes all things, yea, Death it ſelf, lively, and advantagious unto us.

Wee cannot but wonder, that you ſhould read the Scripture, and not finde them fulfilled, in, and amongſt your ſelves, when as they appeare ſo appaſtant, that he that runs may read them: what think you of *Herod*, when the Lord had delivered *Peter* out of priſon, and releaſed him of thoſe bonds, and brought him from that thraldom, which he had ſo Cruelly impoſed upon him, to gaine the favour of the Jewes , and that by a power ſupereminent, tranſcending the bounds of his authoritie, and by a wiſdom ſurpaſſing the Depth of his Counſell, and policie, to fynd out, together with his foulſiders and Champions , he preſently goes downe to *Cefarea* , and *Herod* is angry with them of *Tyrus & Sidon*, (*thumomachon*) a heavie Friend, or hath a ſecret grudg or perturbation of mind , manifested in an outreaching , and circumventing policie , to ſubdue them unto himſelf, that he might Rule over them: Finding himſelf fall ſhort of power and policie, to ſubjeſt the word of God in the meiſinger of it, to fatisfy his owne luſts, in his lordſhip over it, he purſues with all egarnelle to make himſelf a god, by Raigning over the bo-dies

dies and estates of men; yea, though they be but such, as *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, can afford unto him, to make subjects of, and when they come unto him with one accord to make offer of themselves, in yeelding to his affectionate and politicall project, he sitting upon the Judgment seate, in his Royall apparell, making his oration, of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and Counsell, to minister Justice and rightheoufnes unto them ( which office belongs only unto the Lord) the people with a shout crying out, the voice of god and not of man, the truth and substance of which Cry is, this is the ordinance of god and not of man, immediately the angel of the Lord smites him, and hee that ever acknowledged himself, to bee a worme, and no man upon the earth, Consumes and eates up all his pomp and glory, even as those, whom you account the Shame and Contempt of the people, shall (thorow that angell of the Covenant) waste and bring to nought all those Rhetoricall, (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you, by your fo Learned, studious, and experienced Clarkes: take for illustration of your estate as above, the speech of your alderman *Oliver*, in case of committing *Francis Hutchinfon* to prisone; one of your Church-members wondering that brother *Winthrop* would do it before the Church had dealt with him, Brother, faith hee, why; hee is thy god man.

Lend your eye yet farther, to parallel your practise perfonated in *Pylate* and the people, when *Pylat* offereth Jefus unto the people to be judged, they profefs, they have such a law, as puts no man to Death: they are all for mercy and forgiveneſſe, when they are out of the Judgment hall, but let *Pylat* enter in thither; and then, nothing but Crucifie him, Crucifie him; be their accuſations, and witneſſes, never fo falſe: even fo, in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewiſh brotherhood, your law is all for mercie, to Redrefs, reform, and for prefervation, both of foule and bodie; Do but enter into the Commonion hall, and then, as *Pylat* asked (am I a Jew?) fo do you, Doe I ſit, or ſpeake here, as a brother? I tro not, I am now in a higher ſphere, then that (though they be acknowledged coheirs with Chriſt) can ataine unto, therfore if witneſſes be brought in, and Oath taken, though never fo untrue, your conſciences are purged by law, and your power muſt have tribute payd unto it, fo far as mens Names, to bee branded with infamie, estates, depryving women and children of things neceſſarie, and precious lives of men  
can

can extend themselves, to contribute any thing thereunto; so that the professed mercie, and Clemencie of your law, to exercize censures only for amendment of life, and recoverie, comes unto this iffue, as much as in you lies, to fend both foule and body downe unto hell for ever without redresse, and all hope of recovery.

But your houre, and the power of Darkneffe, is known what it is, either to have mens perfons in admiration becaufe of advantage; or else, to feck all occasions against them, to brand them with all manner of reproch, and ignominie, but for the truth, taught daily in the Temple, you know not how to streach out your hand, or exercize your miniftry againſt it, leſt it become leproſous, and you take it back again with loſſe, when it appears dried and withered.

And wherefore reaſon yee amongſt your ſelves, faying, wee exercife the power of your miniftrations againſt none but fuch as are Delinquentes, whereby we cleer the innocent, and eſtablish peace in all our borders?

Wee demand, what think you of thoſe two witneſſes, prophecying in Sackcloth, a thouſand two hundred and threecore Dayes: thoſe two olive trees, and two candleſtickes, ſtanding before the God of the earth? are theſe guiltie and vile perions, out of whoſe hands (by the power of your miniftries) you are delivering and reſealing the world? then indeed are your wayes juſtifiable: But if theſe bee the Juſt, Chofen, and peculiар friends of God, yea fuch, as without which, his truthe and Righteouſneſſe are not juſtified, his wiſdom, and holineſſe maintained and upheld in the world, in point of falvation by Chiſt, then are your wayes wicked, and to bee abhorred; for in your profeffed Courſe, you are they, by whom theſe are flaine, and put to Death, and all your glory is to keepe their Corpes unburied in your ſtreetes, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what theſe witneſſes are, whom you are altogether ignorant of, for your Libraries never ſaw them, and you fee not but by their eyes, for theſe are two, and never more, nor yet leſſe, yea ever the fame, they are olive trees, elſe no witneſſes, and alſo Candleſticks, elſe both the former faile, yea, are not at all. Wee muſt tell you what theſe are, elſe wee cannot declare how you kill them, for it is not our intent to open unto you the houſe of the treasures, the ſilver and the gold, and the ſpices, and the precious oyntment, nor the houſe of our armour, becaufe you take all as

execrable, and put all to a profane use that commeth from us; but these two witnessses are the life and death of our Lord Jesuſ; or, in the true language of heaven alſo, the strength and the weakneſſe of Chriſt, for hee was crucified through weakneſſe, but hee liveth by the power of God: this is the word of the Lord in *Zerubbabel*, Not by an army, nor by power, and ſo deprives him of all strength, but by aſpirit, that the greateſt mountaine, or loftieſt hill in the world cannot ſtand before, but becomes a plaine, which with facility and eaſe hee paſfeth upon; thence it is that hee doth not onely lay the top or the head ſtone of all, but alſo the loweſt in the foundation, and then onely is the voice of ſhouting heard, Grace, grace in the houſe for ever; and then doth the day of ſmall things become the day of joy and triumph, yea, of parting the rich ſpoiles and prey of all the world, for then hee that doth but turn and lift up his eyes he cannot looke beſides that great flying book of the Curſe that is gone forth over the whole earth.

Without theſe two witnessſes jointly uttering themſelves in every particular Scripture undertaken to bee diuulg'd by any, noevidence nor teſtimony of God is given, or brought in at all, but a meere reſuge of lies for the foules of men to betake themſelves unto; without theſe two pipes of the olive trees emptying themſelves into the bowle of the candleſticks, no unction nor oyle at all is found in them, and that being wanting, the light of the Sanctuary is gone out; ſo that the light appearing amongſt you is onely the light of *Balaam*, whos'e eye was open, which you may read either *Shethum* or *Sethum*, for that opening is nothing elſe but the ſhutting up of the holy things of God, ſo that in feeing you fee not, but communicate onely in the light of that beaſt, who puts the witnessſes to death, as *Balaam* did in the fight of that dumbe beaſt of his whos'e eyes were opened to fee the angel before him; ſo that while you thinke it is our wiſdom to ſtoope unto you for light, wee never come amongſt you but fee our ſelves in a regiment of groffe and palpable darkneſſe, and diſcern you very plainly, how you ſcrabble upon the wall to finde the doore of *Lots* houſe, and cannot. As alſo how you toil yourſelves to climbe up into the ſheep-fold, another, yea, ſo many other wayes, and have no fight nor diſcerning of us the Door, at all, by the which whοver entereth, becomes a true feeder of the flock of God; yea, none entereth in thereat, but the true ſhepherd himſelf.

Moſt

Most impious it is to put to death two fuch Noble witneffes, that have power to shut heaven that it raine not in the dayes of their prophecyng; to turne the waters into bloud, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they wil, whom that spirit that is amongst you kills on this wisc, the life or power of the sonne of God, as above, which is infinite, not admitting of circumscriptiōn or containment, for the heaven of heavens cannot contayne him, yet have you not dared to grapsē and inviron that power in the heavens, and therefore have refolved and concluded that hee onely rules upon the earth in these dayes by his Deputies, Lieutenants, and Vicegerents, whereby you limit, and so deftroy the holy One of Israel; for give him that in one time, or place, which afterwards, or elsewhere you deny him, and you make a nullity of him unto your selves, and in so doing, you kill that other witnſſe, namely, the death or weakneſſe of the Lord Jefus: for you must have man to bee honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, else they may not rule among you; yea and theſe things are of man, and by man, as appears, in that they onely officiate so, as man may diſanull and take it away againe; witnſſe your change of officers, constantly ſpeaking for us herein; thus have you flaine alſo the death or the weakneſſe of Christ, who profeſſeth himſelfe to bee a worm and no man, the shame and contempt of the people; and theſe faithfull and true witnſſes thus flaine, you muſt of neceſſity deny buriall, and keep them both in open view in your ſtreets, or otherwife all your pompe and glory falls to the dust whence it came, and on which it feeds. Nor can you ſend your prefents one to another of your acts of Juſtice, power to protect, wealth, honour, and friends wherewith you gratifie each other; and where theſe are thus flaine, and their corps lie in open view, none of the gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds ſuffering their carkaffes to bee put in graves, there is that great City which ſpiritually is Sodom and Egypt, where our Lord is crucified; but after three dayes and an half, the ſpirit of life from God ſhall enter into them, and they ſhal ſtand up upon their feet to the terrour of you all: Nor doe you thinke that wee onely inveigh againſt the great ones of this world for thus doing, for wee know that the bafeſt peafant hath the fame ſpirit with the greatest Princes of this world, and the greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very fame ſpirit wherewith the bafeſt peafant hath laid himſelfe open in the view of all men: theſe

wee say, are the two witnesseſſ if you can receive it, and what a diſhonour is it to trade ſo much by meanes of witneſſeſſ, and yet not know what a true witneſſe is? which if you did, you durft not attemp the things you doe, whereby you caſt reproach upon all the world, in that you profeſſe your ſelvēs a choice people pickt out of it, and yet goe on, in ſuch praćticeſ as you doe, maintaining them as your onely glory. Our Lord gives you in charge not to fweare at all, but it is your dignity to bring men to your feates of Juſtiſe with nothing but oathes in their mouthes, why doe you not balance the ſcriptureſ in this point? viz.

It hath beene faid of old, Thou ſhalt not committ adulterie, but I fay unto you, hee that looketh on a woman to luſt after her, hath committed adulterie with her in his heart already : ſo alſo it hath beene fayd of old, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf, but I fay unto you, fweare not at all: ſo that if it be adulterie, to looke to luſt, it is alſo forſweariing a mans ſelf, to fweare at all; if the one be adulterie, the other is perjury, if one be admitted in ſome caſeſ, the other alſo, ſo that in preaching the toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea the duty of adulterie it ſelf; So that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all mens conſciences, not onely the guilt but the folly and madneſſe of the oath of man, ſhewing how farre it is, either from investing into place, or demonſtrating Caufes, ſo that hee that concludeth upon honour, and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge and bouldneſſe, to judge in a cauſe, from that teſtimony without the which he could not have it, is as vaine in his thoughts, as if hee ſhould herupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of heaven, which is no leſs ftable then the thronē of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firme as his footſtoole for ever, or made a fraction in the orders of *Jerusalem*, that choice and peculiar City of the great King, whose iñstitutions no mortall breath can intrench upon, or to profeſſe his authority and ſkill to be ſuch, whereby he can make a haire of his head blacke or white, caufe his age to wax old as doth a garment, or renew it with the Eagle at his pleaſure, hereby doth man (in this point of fwearing) profeſſe his folly to bee ſuch, that hee is become not onely vaine in his imaginations, but unto that pride and uſurpaſſion therein, as to intrude himſelue into the prerogatiue royll of his Maker.

So that however you boast of the Ordinances of God, yet he telſ  
you

you there is no more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, in them, for what is once nay, is ever nay in the Ordination of Christ, and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account howe ver man reckoneth, whose account shall be called over againe, what is once curse, is ever the curse, and what is once the principality and power of Christ, is ever the principality and power of Christ, as that which is once the principality and power of Darkenesse, is ever the same, what hands foever it cometh into for manifestation: measure your kingdome whether it bee eternall, and your Jurisdiction whether it bee illimited, for he hath given (him) the heathen for his inheritance, the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, and a kingdome of lesse extent hee professeth not, nor can hee approve or acknowledge any that doe, no more then light can approve of darkenesse, or the Lord *Jehovah* of the Lord *Baal*.

Bee wife therefore, and bethinke your selues while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, as though you would make your selues *Meriba*, nothing but strife and contention against the Lord, rather kisse the sonne (if it bee possible) leſt his wrath bee kindled and you perish from the way for ever, O bleſſed onely they, that hope in him.

So that hee which professeth on this wife, it is yea, I am a paſtour, but it was nay, at ſuch a time I was none, hee renounceſt that ſpirit of the true paſtour, yet onely feeder of Israel, profeſſing onely that ſpirit that puſheth the weake with the horne, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flocke of God ſhould drinke. Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when I was none at all, renounceſt that ſpirit of him that rules in righteousneſſe, profeſſing the ſpirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, that Prince of the power of the Aire, who is now working ſo effectually in the children of diſobedience. So also hee with whom it is yea, I am a Captaine, or chiefe flaughter-man, but it was nay, time was I was none at all, renounceſt that victorie and flaughter made by the Captaine and High-priest of our profeſſion, (who as hee is a Lambe flaine from the beginning, his victory and flaughter muſt bee of the fame antiquity,) profeſſing himelfe to bee a chiefe flaughter-man, or ſuperfluouſ Giant, made in that hoaſt of the Philiftims, ſtanding in readineſſe to come out, to defie the hoaſt of the living God: yea, it is evident, that whatſoever is more then yea, yea, and nay, nay, not fetting each upon its Baſe, whereon it stan-  
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deth for ever without controule, but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers at their pleasure, is of that evill, or not of Jefus, the salvation of his people, but of *Shedim* that waster and destroyer of mankinde for ever: know therefore that it is the oath of God which confirmes and makes good his Covenant and promise unto a thousand generations: and it is the oath of man, which is the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with death and hell for ever; bee yee assfured it is not the tabernacle of witnes which you have amongst you, brought in by Jefus into the poffeſſion of the Gentiles, but it is *Siccuth* your King, or the tabernacle of *Molock*, the ffarre of your God *Remphan*, figures which you have made unto your felves, which you have taken up, and are bearing fo stoutly upon your shoulders. Now to tell you what an oath according to God is, that the scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or termes of certainty, where ever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discerne or judge of it, therefore according to our word above, wee leave it as a parable unto you, as all the holy word of our God is, as your conuerſation in all points, as in this, daily declarereth.

In a word, when wee have to doe in your jurisdiction, we know what it is to submit to the wife dispensations of our God, when you have to doe amongst us, in the liberties hee hath given unto us, wee doubt not, but you shall finde him judge amongst us, beyond and above any caufe or thing you can propofe unto us; And let that ſuffice you, and know, that you cannot maintaine a jurisdiction, but you muſt reject all inroades upon other mens priviledges, and fo doe wee.

In the meane time, wee ſhall (as wee thinke good) bee calling over againe ſome matters that you have taken up and had the handling of them amongst you, to fee what justice or equity wee finde hath beene exercized in them, and redreffe them accordingly: for wee profeſſe right unto all men, and not to doe any violence at all, as you in your preſcript threaten to doe to us, for wee have learned how to discipline our children, or fervants, without offering violence unto them, even fo doe wee know how to deale with our deboift, rude, nay inhumane Neighbours, (or if you will, Nabals) without doing violence, but rather rendring unto them that which is their due.

Nor ſhall wee deprive a witneſſe of his modeſt testimony for the outrries,

out-cries, and clamours of such a one as ill bred apostatized *Arnauld* that felonious Hog-killer, being the partie to bee testified against, or for the oath of any interested in the cause, nor shall wee bee forward to come so farre, to finde your worke upon your request, till wee know you to beare another minde, then others of your Neighbours doe, with whom wee have had to doe in this country, whose pretended and devised Lawes wee have stooped under, to the robbing and spoiling of our goods, the livelyhood of our wives and children, thinking they had laboured, (though groping in great darkenesse) to bring forth the truth, in the rights and equity of things, but finding them to bee a company of grosse dissembling hypocrites, that under the pretence of Law and Religion, havedone nothing else, but gone about to establish themselves in wayes to maintaine their owne vicious lusts, wee renounce their Diabolicall practice, being such as have denyed in their publique Courts, that the lawes of our Native Country shoule bee named amongst them, yea those ancient statute lawes, casting us into most base nastie and insufferable places of imprisonment for speaking according to the language of them, in the meane while, breaking open our houfes in a violent way of hostilitie (abusing our wives and our little ones) to take from us the volumes wherein they are preserved, thinking thereby to keepe us ignorant of the courses they are refolved to run, that so the viciosity of their owne wills might bee a law unto them, yea they have endeavoured, and that in publique expreſſions, that a man being accused by them, shoule not have liberty to anſwer for himſelfe in open Court. Dealings of like nature wee finde in the place whereof you ſtyle us your neighbours, (on whose unbridled malice, wee finde a higher then you putting a curbe) and yet in your account and reckoning wee are the parties that ſtill are doing the wrong, and muſt beare the guilt in your moſt mature ſentence, in whomsoever the ſpot arifeth and abideth. But the God of vengeance (unto whom our caufe is referred, never having our protector and Judge to ſeeke) will ſhew himſelfe in our deliverance out of the hands of you all, yea all the house of that *Iſhboſheth* and *Mephiboſheth*, nor will he faile us to utter and make knowne his strength (wherein wee ſtand) to ſerve in our age, and to minister in our Courſe, to day and to morrow, and on the third day, can none deprive us of perfection, for hee hath taught us to know what it is to walke to day, and to morrow, and the day following

24      *The first letter of Samuel Gorton and his Accomplices,*  
following also, when a perishing estate cannot arise out of *Jerusalem*, though she be the onely one,(yea,none but she ) that kills the Prophets and stones them that are sent unto her.

Behold yee that are looking after, and foretelling so much of the comming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certaine yeares, which some (you say) shall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the rest, You blinde guides, as your fathers have ever done, so doe yee. Behold wee say, when ever hee appeareth, your houfe (which yee so glory in) shall bee left unto you defolate, it shall be turned into nothing but desolation and confusion , for *Babel* is its name; Nor shall you see him to your comfort in the glory of his kingdome, untill you can say, Bleffed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord, when the authority and power of man appereas to bee the building of *Babel* unto you , and the name and authority of God onely, to bee that, wherein the bleffing confists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach, in the eyes of all the world, that a King should ride into his chiefe City, so strangely furnished, upon an Affe borrowed, her furniture old, overworn garments, and accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicated perfons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharifees, Lawyers, and all your credible perfons among you,make full account they are not onely accursed by, but also destitute and void of all law, when you can finde *Hofanna* in the highest, arising out of such contempt and shame, then, and then onely shall you sing unto him with comfort. In the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to truft and stay your felves on the name of man, and in his beautie to delight and glory, which shall fade as a leafe, and like the grasse shall wither when it is fitting it self for the oven, such is man whose breath is in his nostrills, and the sonne of forrie man, in whom you delight to truft, his power and his pollicy brings forth nothing else, but as you shall fee and heare in the Countrey from whence wee are brought. We are not ignorant of thofe shamefull lies and falsities gone out against us , and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominie and reproach; Neither of thofe straits & difficulties they have cast us upon, in the things which concerne this prefent life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seen beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto (as their owne confession hath witnesfed,) doing

it in such a way of painted hypocriste and falfe gloffe unto the eye of the world, that wee might feeme unto it self-executioners. We RESOLVE therefore to follow our imployments, and to carry and behave our felvses as formerly wee have done (and no otherwise) for wee have wronged no man, unleffe with hard labour, to provide for our families, and suffering of groffe, idle, and idol droanes to take our labour out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us.

So that if any any shall goe about to disturbe or annoy us henceforth in our imployments and liberties, which God hath, or shall put into our hands, that can claime no interest in us but by these courses; what their businesse is, wee know by prooife sufficient, to bee nothing else but that ancient errand of *Nimrod*, that rebellious hunter after the precious life; which errand of his shall bee no more delivered unto us in that covert cruelty, and diffembling way of hypocrisie, but in direct and open termes of tyrannie, wee will not bee dealt with as before, wee speake in the Name of our God, wee will not; For if any shall disturb us, as above, secreit hypocrites shall become open Tyrants, and their lawes appeare to bee nothing else but meer lufts in the eyes of all the world.

And wherefore doe you murmur among your felvses at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expreſſion? it is becaufe you are ignorant of the croſſe of our Lord Jefus, not knowing what it is: Therefore it is, that while you inveigh againſt ſuch as ſet up a Statue of wood and ſtone, to bow downe unto it, and are fo vaine, as to croſſe the aire, (to uſe your owne expreſſion) upon the face of infants, when they ſprinkle them with water to as great purpoſe: And in the meane time you preach and ſet up *Seghnirim* for your croſſe, whom you fall downe unto fo willingly, and leſt you let the word paſſe without expoſition of it unto all, it ſignifies, Horroure and feare, which is the croſſe you hold and teach, and by and thorow which you thinke to bee ſaved, which is a name given by our Lord unto the Devil himſelf, as our English tranſlate it, and the Lord never gives name, as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named; fo that if hee speake, I haue faid yee are gods, of any beſides himſelfe, it is to declare, that there is not onely the name, but the very nature of the god of this world, and therefore hee faith, they ſhall die, even as *Adam*, which aspired and uſurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the Princes, even

as one of thoſe princes of *Midian*, whose carkaffes became dung for the earth; and hee that gives that title unto any but the true God (that made heaven and earth) in any other ſenſe but as it declares a flat opposition againſt God, is re-acting that ancient ſpirit of the ferpent, if yee eate, you ſhall bee as gods, to judge of good and evill, for which all men are fet up in that kinde; even ſo, while you tell the people, that by forrow, compunction, and anxiety, and trouble of minde, they communicate in the ſufferings of Chrift, out of which condition their comfort is to flow, is nothing elfe but to conclude the fonne of God to be Belial, yea, to affirme him to bee *Seghnirim* himſelf; this doth hee receive at your hands in your miniftries, for all your fawning upon him with a kiffe, fo that if you will know how farre you are from communicating in the death of Chrift, take it in this parable, verily, as farre as the weaknels of God is stronger then man.

Country-men, for wee cannot but call you ſo, though wee finde your carriage towards us to bee ſo farre worfe then theſe Indians, wee aduife you to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to put aſunder: So that if you bee aſhamed of the croſſe in Baptifme, bee aſhamed of the Baptifme alſo, for ſuch as the croſſe is, ſuch is the Baptifme, therefore your anceſtors goe beyond you in that, to joyne croſſing of the aire, and ſprinkling with the element of water together, but where ever Baptifme according to the word of Chrift is, there is the croſſe of Chrift alſo, they can no more bee ſeparated, then his ſcepter and kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other alſo, and as they are co-incident, ſo are they co-apparant; So that if ever you fee the baptisme of Chrift truly in uſe, and exercized upon any, you do as truly fee that party partaking and communicating with the croſſe and ſufferings of the Lord Jefus Chrift, and to fee perſons in ſuch estate, and to conclude that afterwards they may bee worthy of cenſure, yea poſſibly unto an *anathema maranatha*, is nothing elfe but to concluſe a totall and finall falling away from the grace of God, as your fathers have done before you; for no grace greater then the croſſe of our Lord Jefus.

Behold therefore you deſpifers, the vanity and abomination of all your baptismes, how prejudiciale they are to the croſſe of Chrift: bee aſhamed and return in time, or hee ſhall bee a ſwift wiſe againſt you for ever, when your repenſance ſhall come too late:

late; but you thinke the croffe of Chrift is not, but onely in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing and crouching unto the lust of every man, otherwife his *Shebett* is not fit, nor fuiteth it at all with your Regiment, unleffe fo fervile, that every man may serve his owne lufts of him, to get wealth and honour, friends and allies, by setting bounds and limits unto the holy Word of God; fome in the way of one device, and fome according to another, and he that will not either walk as a dumbe beast, (worfe then *Balaams Affe*) and fay nothing, or else give a fenfe of the holy writings to maintaine the devifed platforme, if mercey muft bee ufed, not to hang and burn, yet banishment is ready waiting upon them; therefore shall you know by the Rod of his power that comes out of *Sion*, that hee will bee Ruler, even in the midft of his enemies.

Per us whom you ftile your neighbours of *Providence*, you have faid it, *Providence* is our Hold, the neighbourhood of the *Samari-*  
*tan* wee professe. And for the lookings on, and turnings aside of your Priests and Levites, without either unction, or bowells of compassion, all those flaine and wounded in foule amogſt you, finding no remedy, doe plainly teſtifie unto all men the nature of your travailes and neighbourhood what it is, that neither the oyle of thoſe two olive trees, nor the fatneſſe of that vine, which maketh glad God and man, is conuerfant amogſt you; your ſpeech to us in generall, not uſing our names, whereas wee know, it is particulars you aime at, gives us plainly to fee, the word *Ælem* revived and living in you, as it stands with its coherence in *Pſalme 58.*

*John Wickes*  
*Randall Howldon*  
*Robert Potter*  
*Samuel Gorton*  
*John Greene*  
*Francis Weston*  
*Richard Carder*  
*Richard Waterman*  
*Nicholas Power*  
*John Warner*  
*William Waddell*

1730  
1730  
1730  
1730  
1730

*From our Neck: Curo, September 15. 1643.*

**T**O the great and honoured Idol Generall, now set up in the *Maffachusetts*, whose pretended equity in distribution of Justice unto the foules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a meer device of man, according to the ancient customes & sleights of Satan, transforming himself into an angel of Light, to subiect and make flaves of that species or kinde that God hath honoured with his owne Image, read *Dan. 3.Chap.* wherein (if it be not like *Lots* love unto the *Sodomites*) you may see, the visage or countenance of the State, for wee know the sound of all the musick, from the highest note of wind-instruments, sounding, or set up by the breath or voices of men, (to have dominion and rule as though there were no God in heaven or in earth but they , to doe right unto the sonnes of men)unto the lowest tones of the stringed instruments , subiecting themselves to hand or skill of the devised ministrations of men, as though God had made man to bee a vassall to his owne species or kinde, for hee may as well bee a flave to his belly , and make it his God, as to any thing that man can bring forth , yea, even in his best perfection, who can lay claime to no title or terme of honour but what the dust, rottennesse, and putrefaction can affoord , for that of right belongeth solely to our Lord Christ. Woe therefore unto the world, because of the Idols thereof; for Idols must needs be set up, but woe unto them by whom they are erected.

Out of the abovesaid principles, which is the kindome of darknesse and of the devill; you have writ another Note unto us, to adde to your former pride and folly, telling us againe, you have taken *Pumham*, with others into your Jurisdiction and Government, and that upon good grounds (as you say:) you might have done well to have proved your selfe Christians, before you had mingled your selves with the heathen, that so your children might have knowne how to put a distinction betwixt yours and them in after times, but wee perceive that to bee too hard a worke for your selves to performe, even in time present. But if you will communicate Justice and Government with that Indian, wee advise you to keep him amongst your selves, where hee, and you may performe that worthy worke: Yet upon a better ground, wee can informe you that hee may not expect former curtesies from us, for now by  
your

your Note, wee are resolved of his breach of Covenant with us, in this his seeking and subjection unto you, which formerly hee hath alwayes denied; let him and you know therefore, that hee is to make other provision for his planting of corne hereafter, than upon *Mshawomet*, for wee will not harbour amongst us any such fawning, lying, and cadaverous person as hee is, after knowledge of him, as now in part you have given unto us, onely hee shall have liberty sufficient to take away his corne, habitation, or any of his implements, so be it hee passe away in peace and quiet, which might in no case bee admitted, if it were so that wee lived by blood, as you doe, either through incision of the nose, division of the eare from the head, stigmatize upon the back, suffocation of the veines, through extremity of cold, by your banishments in the winter, or strangled in the flesh with a halter. But we know our course, professing the kingdome of God and his righteousnesse, renouncing that of darknesse and the devill, wherein you delight to trust, for without the practise of these things, you cannot kisse your hand, bleffe the Idol, nor professe your vowes and offerings to bee paid and performed. O yee generation of vipers, who hath fore-warned you, or fore-stalled your mindes with this, but Satan himselfe, that the practise of these things is to fly from the wrath to come; Whereas the very exercise and performance of them, is nothing else but the vengeance and wrath of God upon you already, in that mankind, so harmonically made in the Image of God, is in the exercizes of the kingdome, become the torturer and tormentor, yea the executioner of it selfe, whilst those of you that are of the same stock and stem, worke out, yea, and that curiously, through the law of your mindes, the death and destruction of one another; when as, in the meane time, the same nature or subsittance, in the way of our Lord Jefus, saves both it selfe and others. You tell us of complaints made by the Indians, of unjust dealings and injuries done unto them, why doe they not make them knowne to us, they never complained to us of any thing done unto this day, but they had satisfaction to the full, according to their owne minde, for oft wee know, in what they exprefse unto us, although our wrongs insufferable done by them lie still in the deck, for wee know very well, wee have plenty of causeleffe adverfaries, wanting no malice that Satan can inject, therefore wee suffer much, that in the perfection and heighth of their plots, they may receive the greater rebuke

rebuke and shame for their basenesse, in the eies of all the world.

To which end wee have not onely committed our condition unto writings, but them also into the hands and custody of such friends, from whom they shall not bee taken by any, or by all the governments of this Country, as formerly they have beene, that so our wrongs might not appeare ; therefore never picke a quarrell against us in these things, for wee know all your stiles and devices, that being you now want such as old malicious *Arnauld*, one of your low stringed instruments, to exercize his fidle amongst us, and wee are void of your benediction also, sprung out of the same stock to make rents and divivions for you to enter to gaine honour unto your selues in having patients to heale, though they lie never so long under your hands, your chirurgerie must bee thought never the worse. Wanting these or such like of the English, to betray the liberties, God hath given us into your hands, now you worke by your coadjutors,these accursed Indians ; but you are deceived in us, we are not a Cope fitted for your so eager appetite, no otherwise, then if you take it downe it shall prove unto you a Cope of trembling, either making you vomit out your owne eternall shame, or else to burst in funder with your fellow confessor for aire,

[Errata: l. 17  
& 18, read Cup  
for Cope.]

[Errata: l. 21,  
read as Judas.]

*Judas Iscariot.* For Mr. *Winthrop* and his Copartner *Parker*, may not thinke to lay our purchafed plantation to their Iland so neere adjoyning, for they come too late in that point, though *Benedick* hath reported that *Myantonimo*, one of the *Sachims*, of whom wee bought it, should lose his head for felling his right thereof to us.

As also a minister affirmed that Mr. *Winthrop* should fay to him, that wee should either bee subjecsted unto you, or else removed hence, though it should cost *Bloud*. Know therefore, that our lives are fet apart already for the case wee have in hand, so wee will lose nothing but what is put apart aforehand, bethinke your selues therefore what you should gaine by fetching of them, in case it were in your power, for our losse should bee nothing at all.

For wee are resolved, that according as you put forth your selues towards us, so shall you finde us transformed to answere you. If you put forth your hand to us as country-men, ours are in readinesse for you: If you exercize the pen, accordingly doe wee become a ready writer; If your sword bee drawne, ours is girt upon our thigh; If you prefent a gun, make haste to give the first fire: for we are

are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled.

For your pursuite of us, still, to come your Courts, to receive your parcells of Justice, undoubtedly either God hath blinded your eyes that you see not our answere formerly given in that point, or else you are most audacious to urge it upon us againe; alfo you may take notice that wee take it in more disdaine then you could doe, in case we should importune you (yea) the chiefe amongst you, to come up to us, and bee employed according to our pleasure, in such workes as wee thought good to set you about; and for your grant of freedome unto us to come downe to you, and returne in safety, wee cannot sufficently vilifie this your verball and perfunctory offer, knowing very well, according to the verdict of your owne conscience, that what wrongs soever are passed amongst us since our comming into this Country, you have beeene the violent agents, and wee the patients. To feare therefore to come amongst you as such as have done wrong, the cause vanisheth in us, somust the effect also. And to feare to come unto you as tyrants, which your grant must necessarily implies, wee cannot, knowing that hee which is with us, is stronger then hee which is with you.

Also the earth is the Lords and the fullnesse thereof, and when, and where hee shall call wee will goe, but not at the will and lust of forry men to play their parts with us at their pleasure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparant you desire to doe, for if your lusts prevailed not over you in that kinde, you might well thinke that wee have better employments then to trot to the *Maffachusets* upon the report of a lying Indian, or English either, as your factors and ordinary hacknies doe.

But know this O yee—that so long as wee behave our selves as men, *walking in the name of our God*, where ever wee have occasion to come, if any mortall man whose breath is in his nostrils, dares to call us into question, wee dare to give an answere to him, or them, nor shall wee faile through God, to give testimony even in his conscience of the hope that is in us, whether his question may concerne the rice or succeffion either of Priest or Peere. In the meantime we sit in safety under the cloudy pillar, while the Nations roare and make a noife about us, and though you may looke upon us with the unopened eye of *Eliahs* servant, thinking us as nothing to thofe that are against us, yet wherever the cloud refts, wee know the

Lords

Lords returne to the many thousands of Israel.

[Errata: l. 3,  
leave out to.]

In that you say our freedome granted to come to you, takes away all excuse from us, wee freely retort it upon your selves to make excuses, whose Lawes and proceedings with the foules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued art (like the horse in the mill) of accusing and excusing, which you doe by circumstances and conjectures, as all the fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of the world, who are gone to their owne place and have their reward; But for the true nature, rife, and distribution of things as they are indeed and shall remaine and abide as a law firme and stable forever, wee say and can make it good, you know nothing at all, therefore such as can delight themselves in preaching, profeffing, and executing of such things, as must end as the brute beasts doe, nay take them away for present and they have lost their honour, religion, as also their God ; let such wee say, know themselves to bee that beast and false prophet, no man of God at all. In the meane time wee looke not on the things that are feene, but on the things that are not feene, knowing the one are temporary, the other eternall. Nor doe wee thinke the better of any man for being invested into places or things that will in time waxe old as doth a garment, neither judge we the worfe of any man for the want of them: for if we should we must condemne the Lord Chrift, as so many doe at this day.

Wee demand when wee may expect some of you to come to us, to anfwer and give satisfaction for some of these foule and inhumane wrongs you have done, not to the Indians, but to us your country-men: not to bring in a Catalogue, as we might, take this one particular abuse you are now acting; in that you abet, and backe these base Indians to abuse us. Indeed *Pumham* is an aspiring perfon, as becomes a Prince of his profeffion, for having crept into one of our neighbours houfes, in the absence of the people, and felloniously rifled the same, hee was taken comming out againe at the Chimney-top: *Soccononoco* also hath entred in like manner into one of our houfes with divers of his companions, and breaking open a cheft, did steale out divers parcels of goods, some part whereof, as some of his companions have affirmed, are in his custody at this time. Yet we stand still to see to what good iffue you will bring your proceedings with these perfons, by whom you are so honorably attended in the Court generall, as you call it, and would honour

nour us alfo, to come three or fourescore miles to stand by you and them ; wee could tell you alfo that it is nothing with these fellowes to fend our cattle out of the woods with arrowes in their fides, as at this present it appeares in one even now fo come home, and it is well they come home at all, for sometymes their wigwams can receive them, and wee have nothing of them at all; yea they can domineere over our wives and children in our houfes, when wee are abroad about our necessary occasions, sometymes throwing stones, to the endangering of their lives, and sometymes violently taking our goods, making us to runne for it if wee will have it, and if wee speake to them to amend their manners, they can prefently vaunt it out, that the *Maffachusets* is all one with them, let the Villanie they doe bee what it will , they thinke themselves secur, for they looke to bee upheld by you in whatever they doe, if you bee stronger then them which they have to deale withall, and they looke with the same eye your selves doe, thinking the multitude will beare downe all, and perfwade themfelves (as well as they may) that you tolerate and maintaine them in other of their daily practises, as lyng, Sabbath-breaking, taking of many wives, groffe whoredomes, and fornications, so you will doe also, in their stealing, abusing of our Children, and the like, for you have your diligent ledgers amongst them that inculcate daily upon this, how hatefull wee are unto you, calling us by other names of their owne devifing, bearing them in hand, wee are not English men, and therefore the obiect of envy of all that are about us, and that if wee have any thing to doe with you, the very naming our perfons.shall cast our cafe bee it what it will, as it is too evident by the cafe depending betweene *William Arnould* and *John Warner*, that no sooner was the name of Mr. *Gorton* mentioned amongst you, but Mr. *Dudley* disdainefully asking, is this one,joynd to *Gorton*, and Mr. *Winthrop* unjustly up-on the same speech, refusd the oath of the witneffe calling him knight of the post : are these the wayes and perfons you trade by towards us? are these the people you honour your selves withall?the Lord shall lay such honour in the dust, and bow downe your backes with shame and sorrow to the grave, and declare such to bee Apo-statifers from the truth, and falsifiers of the word of God onely to pleafe men, and serve their owne lusts, that can give thankes in their publique Congregations for their unity with such groffe abomi-nations as thefe. Wee must needes aske you another queſtion from

a Sermon now preached amongst you, namely how that bloud relisheth you have fucked formerly from us, by casting us upon straights above our strength, that, have not beeene exercised in such kinde of labours, no more then the best of you in former times in removing us from our former conveniences, to the taking away of the lives of some of us, when you are about your dished up dainties, having turned the juice of a poore filly Grape that perisheth in the use of it, into the bloud of our Lord Jesuſ by the cunning ſkill of your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke ſo many in the world, and yet a little ſleepe makes them their owne men againe, ſo can it heale and pacifie the conſciences at prefent, but the leaſt hand of God returns the feares and terrour againe, let our bloud wee fay prefent it ſelfe together herewith, you hypocrites when will you anſwer ſuch cafes as theſe, and wee doe hereby promife unto you, that wee will never looke man in the face if you have not a fairer hearing then ever wee had amongst you, or can ever expect; And bee it knowne to you all, that weeare your owne Countrymen, whatever you report ofus, though the Lord hath taught us a language you never ſpoake, neither can you heare it, and that is the caufe of your alienation from us; for as you have mouthes and ſpeake not, ſo have you eares & heare not; ſo we leave you to the judgement and arraignment of God Almighty. *The joyned act, not of the Court Generall, but of the peculiар fellowship, now abiding upon Mʃharomet*  
*Randall Holden.*

*This they owned in Court though onely Holdens hand were to it.*

*Postſcriptum.*

**V**VE need not put a feale unto this our warrant, no more then you did to yours. The Lord hath added one to our hands, in the very conclusion of it, in that effusion of bloud, and horrible Maſſacre, now made at the Dutch plantation, of our loving Country-men, women, and children, which is nothing else, but the compleat figure in a ſhort epitomie of what wee have writ, ſummmed up in one entire act, and left you ſhould make it part of your justification, as you do all ſuch like acts, provided they bee not upon your owne backes, concluding them to be greater finners then your ſelves, wee tell you (nay) but except you repent, you ſhall likewife perish.

For

For wee aske you who was the cause of Mistress *Hutchinson* her departure from amongst you, was it voluntarie? No, shee changed her phraces according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so shee might give you content to abide amongst you, yet did you expell her and cast her away; no lesse are you the originall of her removall from *Aquachneck*, for when shee saw her children could not come downe amongst you, no not to conferre with you in your own way of brotherhood; but be clapt up, and detained by so long imprisonment, rumors also being noised, that the Island shoulde bee brought under your Government, which if it shoule, shee was fearefull of their lives, or else to act against the plaine verdict of their owne conscience, having had so great and apparent prooef of your dealings before, as also the Island being at such divisions within it selfe, some earnestly desiring it shoulde bee delivered into your hands, professing their unity with you, others denied it, professing their diffent and division from you, though for what themselves know not, but onely their abominable pride to exercise the like tyranny.

From these and such like workings having their originall in you, shee gathered unto her selfe and tooke up this fiction, (with the rest of her friends) that the Dutch plantation was the Citie of refuge, as shee had gathered like things from your doctrines before, when she seemed to hold out some certaine glimpes or glances of light, more then appeared elsewhere whilst there was such to approve it, in whom there might bee some hope to exalt the instruments thereof, higher then could bee expected from others, but you know very well you could never rest nor bee at quiet, till you had put it under a Bushell, *id est*, bounded and measured the infinite and immense word of God, according to your owne shallow, humane, and carnall capacities, which, howsoever may get the highest seates in your Synagogues, Synods, and Jewish Synedrions, yet shall it never enter into the kingdome of God to be a doore-keeper there. Do not therefore beguile your selves in crying out against the errors of those so miserably falne, for they are no other things which they held but branches of the same root your selves so stoutly stand upon, but know thisthat now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, whereof you are a part, and every tree that brings not forth fruit according to the law of that good things, which the father knowes, how to give to those that aske it, shall bee cut

downe, and cast it into the fire : Neither doe you fill up your speeches or tales , ( wee meane your Sermons ) but that wee affect not the Idolizing of words , no more then of perfons or places. For your selves know the word is no more but a bruit or talke, as you know alfo your great and terrible word Magistrate, is no more in its originall, then Masterly, or Masterleffe, which hath no great lustre in our ordinary acceptation. Therefore wee looke to finde and injoy the substance , and let the ceremony of these things , like vapours vanish away , though they gather themselves into clouds, without any water at all in them, the Lord is in the mean time a dew unto *Israell*, and makes him to grow like a lillie, casting out his roots and branches as *Lebanon*.

We say, fill not up your talk as your manner is, crying, that shee went out without ordinances , for God can raife up out of that stome, which you have already rejected, as children, so alfo ministars and ordinances unto *Abraham*: You may remember also, that every people and poore plantation, formerly fleeced by you, cannot reach unto the hire of one of your Levites , nor fetch in , one such Dove as you fend abroad into our native Country,to carry and bring you news.

Nor can you charge them in that point,for it was for protection or government shee went; And however, hire, in other respects, yet the price of a wife, and safetie of his owne life adjoyned, carreyed a Minister along with them of the same rife and breeding together with your owne, to adde unto the blood so favagely and caufe-lefely spilt, with a company of such as you take pleasure to protect, for they are all of one spirit , if they have not hands in the same act; we say their death is caufeleffe, for wee have heard them affirm that shee would never heave up a hand , no nor move a tongue against any that perfecuted or troubled them, but onely indeavour to fave themselves by flight, not perceiving the nature and end of perfecution, neither of that antichristian opposition and tyrannie, the issue whereof declares it self in this fo and lamentable.

Note, good Reader, that I had order to publish thefe two Letters of his, as well *literatim* as *verbatim*, but because their Orthography was so bad, as it would scarce have been understood, I left it to bee corrected by the Printer, but no word to be changed: And the reaon of the word here left out, is, because it was worne and

out, and so foyled in the originall as wee could not read it , and thought good rather to leave it a blanck, then to put in a word of our own that was not theirs.

In the next place, I present thee here with certaine Observations collected out of both their Letters, by a godly and reverend Divine, whereby the Reader may the better understand them , and indeed try the spirits of these men, whether they be of God or no. Now these his Observations are ranked into three Heads: *Viz.*

First, their reproachfull and reviling speeches of the Government and Magistrates of the *Massachusetts*, which in *Gortons Booke* hee pretends so much to honour, because their Government is derived from the State of *England*; and therefore I desire thee to take the better notice of it.

The seconde Head of his Observations directs thee to their reviling language, not onely against that particular Government , and the Magistrates of it, but against Magistracy it selfe, and all Civill power.

And in his third Head, thou art directed to take notice of their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God. All which because they are of great concernment, I beseech the Reader to take a little paines to compare them with Mr. *Gortons* and his Companies Letters.

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## Certaine Observations collected out of both their *LETTERS.*

### I. Their reproachfull and reviling Speeches of the Government and Magistrates of the Maffachusetts.

- Pag. 9.* 1.  Hey say our Magistrates did lay their Wisdome prostrate, in fending Letters to them, which they scornfully call an irregular Note.
- 2 That they bare them cauflesse enmity, the proofe whereof every occasion brings forth.
- 3 They flily call them the feed of the ancient mother; *i. of* the enmity of the Devill.
- 4 That they know it is the name of Christ call'd upon them, againt which our Magistrates doe strive.
- 5 That they goe about to hide their sin, as *Adam*, bearing the world in hand, that they desire not to contend, but to redreffe fome thing in point of Civill peace.
- 6 That they stand on tip-toe to stretch themselves beyond their bounds, to seek occasion against them.
- 7 That thofe who accufe them, are accusers of the Brethren, Satan being a lyer, and the father of it; which thing our Magistrates cannot know though they be told of it.
- Pag. 10.* 8 That this act of theirs to treat about their land, is a mappe of their spirituall estate.
- 9 That they delight daily to eate of the forbidden fruit (which they call mans wifdome) out of which our Churches and Common-wealth is formed ) to gaine conformity with their maker.
- 10 They scorn at their purity and godlineffe, telling them that *Cole* and *Arnold* their difsembling subjects, are full of the spirit of their purity.
- 11 They doe not say plainly that our Magistrates are dogs, but compare them to dogs in refuming their vomit into its former con-

concoction, by receiving *Cole* and *Arnold* under our jurisdiction.

12 That the whole stricture and edifice among us (*i.* the Churches and Common-wealth) is raised up in the spirit of an hireling, and that by submision to the Word of God in fasting, feasting, retirednesse for study, contributing, treasuring (*i.* for Church uses in severall Churches) they doe nothing else but bring forth fruit unto death.

13 That farther then the Lord Jesus agrees with riches, honour and ease, our Magistrates minde him not, nay, renounce, and reject him.

14 That they plainly crucifie Christ, and put him to an open shame, which the Apostle, *Hebr. 6.* applies to the worst of men, who commit the unpardonable sin, and for whom men are not to pray.

15 That our Magistrates are as farre from yeelding subjection to Christ, as *Cole* and *Arnold* from being honourable and loyall subjects, whom they call the shame of Religion, the disturbance and disquiet of the place, diffembling subjects, *pag. 10.* as also deboist, rude, inhumane *Nabals*, il-bred, apoftatisfed persons, and felonious, *page 23.* with many such like speeches.

16 That the things of Gods kingdome are infinitely beyond the reach of their spirit, nor can they heare the lively Oracle, and therefore are dumb in telling Justice.

17 That the Magistrates are Jewes according to the flesh, and stout maintainers of the man of Sin.

18 That they know our Magistrates eyes are dazled with envy, and their ears open to lyes.

19 That they judge them before their cause be heard.

20 That in inviting them to their Courts for their equal-ballanced Justice (as they scornfully call it) they thereby strike at Christ their life.

21 That our Magistrates are like *Herod*, whom God smote with wormes, for seeking by an out-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and like *Pontius Pilate*, and the people who out of the Judgement hall are all for mercy, but in it nothing but crucifie him, crucifie him, bee their accusations, and witnessses never so false, so (say they) in your dealings with men in way of the Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redreffe, reforme, for preseruation of foule and body, doe but enter into the Com-

*Pag. 11.*

*Pag. 12.*

*Pag. 13.*

*Pag. 15.*

*Pag. 16.*

Common-hall, then if witneffes bee but brought in, and oath taken though never so untrue, your Consciences are purged by law , and your power must have tribute paid it,so far as to brand mens names with infamy, and deprive women and children of things necessary.

22 That the professed clemency and mercy of their law, is as much as in them lyes, to send both soule and body downe to *Sheol* (*i.* the grave and hell) forever, without redreffe and all hope of recovery.

23 That their houre and power of darkneffe is knowne, what it is either to have mens perfons in admiration because of advantage, or else to seek all occasions against them, with all manner of reproach and ignominie.

*Pag. 17.*

24 That their wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred, because in their professed course the two witneffes are flaine by them, and put to death; and that all their glory is to keep their corpe unburied; and these two witneffes are the life and death of the Lord Jefus.

*Pag. 18.*

25 That the light appearing among them, is nothing but the light of *Balaam*, so that in seeing, they fee not, but communicate onely in the light of that Beast who put the witneffes to death.

26 They tell our Magistrates , that they never come amongst them, but they fee themselves in a regiment of groffe and palpable darkneffe, and discern you to scrabble on the wall for the door of *Lots* house.

*Pag. 19.*

27 That they know not what a true witneffe is.

*Pag. 22, 23.*

28 That the whole Word of God is a parable to them, as their converstation in all points daily declare it.

29 That they will not come neare our Magistrates, untill they know they beare another minde from their neighbours, whom they call robbers, groffe dissembling hypocrites, who doe nothing but goe about to establishe fuch wayes as may maintaine their owne vicious lusts, whose laws are pretended and devifed, and whose practices( they say )they renounce as diabolicall.

*Pag. 24.*

30 Yee blind guides(say they to our Magistrates)as your fathers have ever done, fo do you.

*Pag. 25.*

31 You set up *Segnirim* (*i.* as themselves interpret) feare and horrour, or the devill, by, and for the which you hope to bee faved.

*Pag. 26.*

32 That their carriage towards them, is farre worfe then that of the

the Indians, whom themfelves cry out of to bee thieves and robbers; pag.32.

33 That they are despifers; Behold(fay they) yee despifers, the vanity and abominations of all your baptismeſ.

34 Yee think (fay they) that the croſſe of Christ is nothing but bowing down the back to every burden, and cringing and crouching to the luſt of every man.

35 They call the generall Court, the great Idol Generall, whose *Pag. 28.* pretended equity in diſtributing Justice is a meer device of man according to the fleigths of Satan.

36 They tell the Court, that out of the kingdome of darkneſſe and the devill, they had writ another Note to adde to their former pride and folly.

37 For taking *Pumham* and *Sachanonoco* (*Indian Sachims*) under their protection; they tell the Court they might have done well to have proved themſelves Christians before they had mixt themſelves with the heathen; but this was too hard for them to doe.

38 They advise the Court (in feorn) to keep the Indian with them, *Pag. 29.* where he and they might perform that worthy work of diſtributing Justice.

39 They tell the Court that they live by bloud.

40 They tell the Court, they renounce the kingdom of darkneſſe, and the devill, wherein the Court delights to truſt.

41 They call the Court, O ye generation of Vipers.

42 They tell the Court, they are not a cup fit for their appetite, *Pag. 30, 31.* but a cup of trembling either to make them vomit up their owne eternall ſhame, or elſe to make them burſt afunder with their fellow confeſſor *Judas Ifcariot.*

43 That the Court is either blind or audacious in defiſing them to come for their parcells of Justice, and that they diſdain to come to them.

44 They profeſſe they cannot ſufficiently vilifie the promife of the Court, that they ſhall come down to them and return in ſafety; which they call a verball and perfunctory offer.

45 They tell the Court, that if their luſts had not prevailed over them, they miſt thinke they had better employmēt then to trot to *Maffachusets* as their factors, and ordinary hackneys doe.

46 They tell the Court that their lawes and proceedings with *Pag. 32.*

G the

the soules and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued act of accusing and excusing (like the horfe in the mill) which ( say they) you doe by circumstances and conjectures, as also your fathers have done before you, the Diviners and Necromancers of this world, who are gone to their owne place, and have their reward.

Pag. 33.

47 They accuse our Magistrates for maintaining *Indians* in their lying, sabbath-breaking, grosse whoredomes, stealing, &c.

Pag. 34.

48 That they are hypocrites, having eyes and see not, eares and hear not, mouths and speake not.

Now had these men returned a rationall answer, it might have beene meet perhaps by a few marginall Notes to have returned some short Reply; but both their Letters being fraught with little else then meer raylings, and reproachfull language, it may be sufficient thus to present them in one view together, that so the wife and prudent may take a taste of their spirits, and learne from what fire it is that their tongues are thus highly inflamed. If our Courts and Magistrates had been in any thing to blame, what a faire and easie way had it been to have first convinced them, before they had thus bitterly reviled them; but thus to cut and shave, and cast all this filth in their faces without proof or reason, argues a bold and insolent spirit fitted to make combustions and confusions in the place where they live. If indeed the Magistrates had given them any sore provocations of returning ill language, there might have been some excuse, but alasse, all the cause that can bee given of most of this ill language, is nothing but writing friendly unto them, to send some from themselves to clear up the differences between them and the *Indians*, and to shew their just title to the land they possessed: if they had kept this flood within their owne bankes, or been but moderate in revilings, it might have been winkt at; but to fly out into such extremity on so small provocation against their betters, so as to call them Idolls, blind-guides, despisers, generation of vipers, such as crucifie Christ, men that serve their owne lusts, hypocrites, the feed of the Devill, Necromancers, Judasses, men that live by bloud, robbers and thieves, men without mercy, among whom Justice is dumbe, delighting in the kingdome of darknesse and the devill, like *Herod* and *Pilate* in administiring Justice, whose eyes are dazled with envie, and eares open to lies, stout maintainers

of the man of Sin, whose wayes are wicked, and to bee abhorred; worse then *Indians*, like dogs, &c. This language speakes loud to what Countrey they belong, and of what race they come.

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II. *Their reviling Language not onely against the Magistrates and Government here in particular, but also against Magistracy it self, and all Civill power.*

If any shall say for them (as themselves now for their owne advantage doe) that this ill language is directed onely against our particular Government and Magistrates, but not against all Civill power it self, the contrary may appear (notwithstanding their dark language, under which some times they seek to conceale it) in these particulars.

"*I* They exprefly affirm that the Office to minister Justice, be-  
"longs onely to the Lord : and that therefore (from their instance  
"of *Herod*) men make themselves Gods, (which themselves inter-  
"pret to be onely from the God of this world, and to be in flat op-  
"position against God, pag. 26.) by ruling over the bodies and e-  
"states of men; and that the people receiving *Herod* to Government,  
"& crying out that this was the ordinance of God, and not of man,  
"that he was immediately smitten of God for it: As also they tell  
"us, p. 26. that to set up men to Judge of good and evil, for which  
"all men are set up in that kinde ; that this is re-acting that  
"ancient spirit of the Serpent, If yee eate, yee shall bee as  
"Gods.

Now this strikes at all Magistracy, for if the office of ministring justice and righteoufnesse belongs to God onely, then not unto any man, for that is to make Gods of men; and if to judge betweene good and evill bee to act over againe the ancient spirit of the Serpent, then 'tis not onely unlawfull, but diabolicall, to make Judges of what is right and wrong, good or evill by any man.

If it bee objected, is it poſſible that any men ſhould bee fo groſſly blind and wicked, as to abolish all miniftration of Justice and righ-  
teoufneſſe?

*Anſw. I.* These men ſeeme to acknowledge ſome way of miniftring Justice, but the myfterie lies in that word *Office*, they would

have no man set up in the Office of Magistracy, distinguished from other men, but would have such a power common to the Brethren, so that a man may judge as a brother, but not as an Officer, and therefore they shily justifie him, who called one of our chiefe Magistrates in the open face of the Court, *Brother*, and condemne all our Magistrates, because every man doth not fit there to judge as a Brother, *pag. 16.* and their reason seems to bee drawne from this, because that to bee a Brother, and consequently a coheire with "Christ, is a higher sphere then to bee a Civill Officer, as their owne words intimate, *pag. 16.* Now the rule is evident *a quatenus ad omne*, that if ministracion of Justice and judgement belongs to no officer, but to a man as a Brother, then to every Brother, and if to every Brother, whether rich or poore, ignorant or learned, then every Christian in a Common-wealth must bee King, and Judge, and Sheriff, and Captaine, and Parliament man, and Ruler, and that not onely in *New-England*, but in *Old*, and not onely in *Old*, but in all the Christian world; downe with all Officers from their Rule, and set up every Brother for to Rule, which the godly-wife may easilly discerne to bee the establishment of all confusion, and the setting up of Anarchy worse then the greatest Tyranny.

2. Although these may beare the world in hand that they allow ministracion of Justice and righteousnesse by men as Brethren, yet some Cakes of these mens dough have been so farre leavened and sowed against all Civill power, as that in our Publike Courts, being demanded how murderers, theives, and adulterers should bee punished if there should bee no Civill power coercive, they openly and roundly answered before many witneses, that such persons must be left to the judgment of God, both which not long after God himselfe fate Judge upon, being suddenly and barbarously flaine by the bloody *Indians* in the *Dutch* plantation.

*Pag. 18, 19.*

"First, they exclame against us for choosing men that are honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, or else they may not rule among us, and this, they say, is of man, and by man, and putting the second witnesse to death, *viz.* the death or weaknesse of Christ, or in plaine English, 'tis a killing of Christ.

Now however the application is made unto our Civill State, yet it manifestly striketh at all Civill States in the world, who shall choose

choose any Officers for rule and government, and administering of Justice, although they bee never so honourable, learned, wife, experienced, and of good report, and consequently most fit for government; and that in so chusing them they doe put Christ himself to death. So that thefe men still harp on that string to have every man judge as a Brother, whether honourable or not honourable, whether wife or foolish, whether of good report or evill report, otherwife Christs weakneffe is flaine.

3. "They affirme that they who can create, make void, and remove offices and officers at their pleafure, are of that evill one, "(i. the devill) and not of Jefus Christ, but of *Shedim* that waſter and destroyer of mankind for ever. Their prooфе is from that monſtrous interpretation of Yea, yea, and Nay, nay, and they inſtance not onely in Church-officers, but in Common-wealtheſ-officers, whether Rulers or Captaines. Their words are theſe, "viz. Hee with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay when I was none at all, renounceſ the ſpirit of him that rules in righ-teouſneſſe, profeſſing the ſpirit of him that is Prince of the power of the aire, who is working now ſo effectually in the children of diſobedience; ſo alſo hee with whom it is yea, I am captaine, or chief-flaughter-man, but it was nay, time was that I was none at all, renounceſ the victory and flaughter made by the Captaine and High-priest of our profeſſion, profeſſing himſelfe to bee a ſuperfluouſ Giant made in the hoſt of the *Philiftims*, to defie the hoſt of the living God.

By which ſpeeches 'tis evident that they doe not onely oppofe Civill officers choſen amongſt us here, but all ſuch as are choſen Rulers, Captaines, and Officers at any time, in any place, and were not ſo before; and ſuch they ſay are of the Devill the destroyer of man.

4. "They ſay men limit, and ſo destroy the holy one of *Israel*, whose life is infinite, and without circumſcription and contain-ment (as they call it) if men acknowledge that Christ rules on earth onely by his Deputies, Litvtenants, and Vicegerents, (i. by persons invested with Civill authority and office, for ſo they are called by Orthodox Divines) and therefore they ſay that his putting Christ to death, when onely wife, and honourable, and learned, and experienced, and men of good report, are choſen to rule, because they would have the Power to rule common to

Pag. 22.

Pag. 18.

all Christians, but as for the *office* of rule to bee peculiar to none, "and therefore Pag. 24. they tell us that none shall see Christ come "into his kingdome with comfort, untill the authority and pow- "er of man appeares to be as the building of *Babel*, and the name and "authority of God onely to bee that wherein the bleffing confisfts; meaning that 'tis Babylonish building which God misliked, and con- founded, for any man in office to rule and governe, because this is to limit the power and life of Christ (which is in every brother as well as in any officer) and so to kill the life of Christ; so that if any of them say that although they distaste officers, as Kings and o- thers by election, yet not fuch as are so by hereditary succeffion, they are but words to fute their owne ends for a time, and to delude others, for if it bee limiting the holy One of Israel, a circumfcribing and so destroying the life of Christ which is infinite, for to make him rule by his Deputies and Vicegerents on earth, then not onely Kings and Princes, whether by election or no, but all other civil officers must bee abandoned, because the life and power of Christ is limited in succeffive as well as in elective Princes, in inferiour as well as in superiour governours, who are Christs Deputies, and Vicegerents, and therefore called *Rom. 13. 4.* the Minifters of God either for good or terrour.

Pag. 28.

5. They call our generall Court the Idoll generall, which is no- "thing elfe but a device of man by the fleight of Sathan to subiect "and make slaves of that species or kinde which God hath hono- "red with his owne Image , and they do not onely speake thus "of our Courts as Idols, but they cry out woe unto the world be- "cause of the Idols thereof, for Idols must needs bee set up, but "woe be unto them by whom they are erected, and their reaon "reacheth to all civil power,(for say they) a man may be as well a "slave to his belly, and make that his god, as be a vaffall to his owne "species, or kinde, or to any thing that man can bring forth even in "his best perfection.

There are other evidences of their corrupt minde herein from o- ther paſſages in their letters which they speake under more obscure cloudes and allegories, but these may bee a ſufficient witneffe againſt them before men and angels, that they abandon all civil authority, although for to ſerve their owne turnes of others or their owne luſts, they fay they do not: the Apofle *Jude* long ſince, tels us of ſuch perſons exprefly who deſpife Dominion and ſpeake evill of Dignities

Dignities, 1. They doe not only despise these or those particular persons or states that are invested with Dominion; but they despise Dominion it selfe and Dignities themselves, and would have all that power abandoned, whom he calleth *v:8*. filthy dreamers, defiling the flesh, murmurers and complainers walking after their owne lusts, their mouthes speaking great fwelling words, *v. 16*. And that it may yet more fully appeare that these men doe abandon all civill authority, (although this fecret they will not impart unto all, but rather professe the contrary) there is extant to bee shewen if need were, the writings betweene a prudent man in this Country, and one of the chiefe, and most understanding of this peculiar fellowship (as they stile themselves) wherein hee doth stoutly maintaine these three assertions, 1. That there are no Ordinances. 2. That there are no relations neither in the Common-wealth betweene rulers and subjects, nor in the Church between officers and brethren, nor in the families betweene husband and wife, master and servant, father and sonne. 3. That there are no inherent graces in Christians. By which principles the world may fee what these men goe about, *viz.* as much as in them lies to bring in a disorder and confusion in all states and families, and to open the sluice to all violence, injustice, and wickednesse, by not only abandoning, but reproaching and reviling all civill rule and authority upon earth, which they therefore scornefully call a meere device of man, Idols, to be of the Devill, "the destroyer of mankinde, and to bee a crucifying of Christ in "his life and death, and all this when honourable, wife, learned, experienced, well reported persons are chosen and invested with Civil power, whom therefore they would not have maintained, and to whom it is as unlawfull to administer any oath for the ending of civil differences, as to lust after a woman to commit adultery,

Pag. 20.

III. Their blasphemous speeches against the holy things of God.

1. Against the Churches, they call them devised platforms *Pag. 26.*  
“*Pag. 26.* and that the wisedome of men is the whole ac-  
“complishment(or that which gives the whole being) of Churches  
and Common-wealth. *Pag. 10.* 2. “Against

*Pag. 11.* 2. "Against the calling of Ministers, they say, that to make their "calling mediate and not immediate, is to make a nullity of Christ, "and to crucifie Christ, and to put him to an open shame, and that "such Ministers are Magicians, *Pag. 34.*

Now this reflects upon all the Ordinances and ordinary Officers and Ministers of Christ, that either are or have beeene in the Church at any time, for although the offices bee immediately from Christ, yet their call to exercise this office hath beeene ever accounted mediate.

*Pag. 36.* 3. "Against the word of God, they call the Sermons of Gods "Ministers *tales*, or *lies* and *falshoods*, now had they thus spoken upon prooife against any particular Sermons, or persons, the accused might have spoken for themselves, but indifferently to revile all Sermons as tales or forgeries, the doctrine generally taught here amongst us, being no other then that which *Paul* preached at *Ephesus* for three yeares space and upwards, *viz.* repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus, *Act. 20.* being also no other then what agrees generally with the harmony of confessions of all reformed Churches: to call these tales is a word which the Lord Jesus will certainly remember, unlesse they repent; the Sermons of the Apostles of Christ, as well as the doctrine of all reformed Churches, being reproached hereby.

*Pag. 26.* 4. Against the Sacraments: as for baptisme they doe not onely make the baptizing of Infants as abominable as the croffe, but all our baptismes, "behold (say they) the vanity and abomination of all your baptismes, and they doe not meane all those baptismes which are in use amongst us, but in any Churches of the world at this day; for they acknowledge no other baptisme then that which is spirituall, and hence they say, "that when ever you see the baptisme of Christ truly in use according to the word of God, you "doe as truly see that party partaking and communicating with "the croffe and sufferings of Christ, for these are coapartant, now communicating in Christs sufferings in their meaning is onely spirituall, and so is therefore all baptismes. 2. As for the Lords supper scarce a greater heape of blasphemies in fewer words can come from the mouth of man against that blessed Ordinance, wherein Christ is so manifestly and sweetly present, "for they call it your disht up "dainties, turning the juice of a fillie grape that perisheth in the use "of it, into the bloud of the Lord Jesus, by the cunning skill of  
"your

"your Magicians, which doth make mad and drunke so many in  
"the world.

5. Against repentance and humiliation for finne, they speake somewhat obscurely, but they that know them may foone understand their meaning, which if it be this, that in a way of compunction and forrow for finne, a Christian is not to feeke for conforlation and comfort from Christ, and to affirme that this is to make the sonne of God *Belial* and *Segnirim*, the Devill himselfe, (as they interpret it) then tis most grosse blasphemy againt not onely the preaching, but practise of repentance and godly forrow, for which the Apostle rejoiced to see in the Corinthians, ch. 7 v.9.10. and which *James* and *Peter* command and commend, *James* 4. v. 9. 10. *1 Peter* 5. v. 6. and which way not so much *Moses* in the law but Christ in the Gospell hath sanctified to finde pardon of finne

*I John* 1. 9.

6. Against Christ Jesus himselfe: "they condemne our doctrine "for affirming that Jesus Christ actually dyed and suffered onely in "the dayes of *Herod*, and *Pontius Pilate*, when hee hanged on the "Croffe, and that hee was crucified in truth and substance onely "when hee appeared borne of the Virgin *Mary*: and for this do-  
ctrine wee are condemned as Wifards and Necromancers.

Now what is this but to overthrow not onely the being of Christ in the flesh, making him no other then such an one as actually suffered from the beginning of the world, and shall doe to the end of it, but also overthrowing all faith and hope of salvation in that Meffiah who was incarnate in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pilate*, and in his death and sufferings, and that one perfect offering, then once for all *Heb.* 10.14. The reader may therefore be pleased to take notice that being asked in open Court what was that Christ who was borne of the Virgin and suffered under *Pilate*? one of them answered that hee was a semblance, picture, or a shadow of what was and is done "actually and substantially in Christians; and hence the meaning of the words may bee gathered *Pag. 11.* which otherwise the wise reader may thinke to bee non-fence. *viz.* "that they are Wifards "and Necromancers who raise a shadow without a substance (*viz.* "to make Christ to bee flaine in types since the world began) or "who raise the substance of him who dwels in light without a sha-  
dow, (making no more of Christ but a semblance and shadow, as themselves call it) for further explication of which they affirmed

*Pag. 26.*

*Ex 1. pag.*

They say out of the forbidden fruite i. e. mans wisdom, our Churches and Commonwealth is formed. 2. That the whole edifice amongst us is raised up in the spirit of an hireling. 3. That by submissione to the word of God in fasting, feasting, retiring, neffe for study, contributing, treafuring, i. e. for Church u-  
ses so much in severall Churches, they doe nothing but bring forth fruite unto death.

*Pag. 11.*

in open Court that as the Image of God in *Adam* was Christ, ("for "God they said had but one Image) so the losse of this Image by "man was the death of Christ, and therefore'tis no wonder if they deny Christ to dye actually onely when crucified under *Pontius Pilate* because man finned actually (which they make to be Christs death) long before; meane while the reader may take notice with a holy astonishment and horrour of the heavy curse of God in blinding these bold men with such a palpable and grosse spirit of delusion and mad phrenesies, who will make mans finne and fall, which is the cause of perdition of men, to be the cause of the salvation of man, for so Christs death is which they blasphemously make mans finne to bee.

For further proofe that they make little use of Christ and his death, then as hath been said, their owne interpretation of the flaying of the two witnessses, *Pag. 17. 18.* seemeth to confirme, for they make these two witnessses the life and the death of Christ in men, the life of Christ they call his strength, and the death of Christ they call his weake[n]esse, *viz.* as it is, and appeares in weake, foolish, ignorant, unexperienced, and ill-reported of men, and therefore they blameus for killing of Christs death (for it feemes it is such a death as may bee killed) in that wee chuse honourable, wife, learned men, and of good report to place of rule, excluding others.

Now some of these blasphemies might have beeene the better borne if they had let Christ and his death alone, and his word alone, but to call the holy word and Sermons of Salvation *tales*, the Sacrament an abomination, madding and making drunke the world, to call the Ministers of Christ who dispense Word and Sacraments, Necromancers and Magicians, and they who hold and beleive him to bee the Meffiah and Christ who suffered under *Pilate*, Wifards, and all this in coole blood, in the open face of the Court, obstinately refusing to alter a title of what they had writ, let the world judge if ever Antichrist that beast spoken of *Rev. 13. 5, 6.* did ever speake greater blasphemies against God, his name, and tabernacle, and whether such men deserve to live, that live thus to blaspheme; may not such civill states that tolerate such, feare that sentence of God against them as was pronounced against *Ahab* for letting blasphemous *Benhadab* escape with his life, *thy life for his life?* however mens charity may enlarge it selfe this way, yet let wisedome preserve us and make the wifehearted wary of such impoftors, who want not their wiles to fay  
and

and unfay, as may best fute their advantage, for they can hold forth at some time and to some persons, wholefome and orthodox truths and beare them in hand that this is all that they hold, but they have depths of abomination to give to drinke when they see their seafons, in such golden cups; they have hidden secrets, which their young Pro-selytes shall not presently fee, much lesse others; for so they tell us *Pag. 17.* "that tis not their purpose to open to every one the house "of their treasures, the silver and gold, and spices, and precious "ointment, nor the house of their armour, because they may take "them all as execrable and put them to a prophane use, nor can "every spirit comprehend the breadth of the land of *Emanuel*, (as "they call it *Pag. 12.*) nor know the Cherubims of glory, nor the "voice of the oracle from the Mercy-seate: and indeed their uncouth, tumorous and swelling words (as *Jude* calls them *Jude 16.*) like swellings, and tumours of the flesh, are the undoubted signes of a secrect and seducing humour, whereby they are fit to deceive the simple and infect the strong, if men bee not watchfull.

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*The Publisher to the Reader.*

**T**HE reason wherefore nothing is answered to the great charge in his voluminous Postscript, is because it hath beene answered already by a former treatise printed: but more especially because many of the friends, children and kindred of the dead are in good esteeme with us, whom I am loath to grieve.

But since by course thou art next to cast thine eye Gentle Reader upon the summe of a Prefentment which the Court at *Road Iland* received from their Grand Jewry being present when *Samuel Gorton* had so much abused their Government in the face of the Country, yea in open Court, their owne eyes and eares bearing witness thereunto, they I say presented these abuses to the Court, as such which they conceived ought not to bee borne without ruine to their Government, and therefore besought the bench to thinke offome one punishment for examples sake as well as otherwifeto bee inflicted on the Delinquent.

And therefore that thou maist see the occasion thereof, take notice that an ancient woman having a Cow going in the field where

*Samuel Gorton* had some land. This woman fetching out her Cow, *Gortons* fervant maid fell violently upon the woman beating and notorioufly abusing her by tearing her haire about her, whereupon the old woman complaining to the Deputy Governour of the place, hee fendeth for the maid, and upon hearing the caufe, bound her over to the Court. The time being come and the Court fet, *Gorton* appeares himfelfe in the defence of his maid, and would not fuffer his maid to appeare or make anfwer, but faid exprefly ſhe ſhould not appeare, and that if they had any thing againſt her they ſhould proceed with him. And though hee was lovingly diſwaded by ſome of the Bench not to engage himfelfe but let his maid appeare, yet hee refufed: but when hee could not bee prevailed with, the action was called and witneſſes produced, fworne, and examined: which being done, hee moved for another witneſſe to bee called, which hee perfwaded himfelfe and the Bench was an honest wo- man and would ſpeakethe truth. Now ſhee being fworne, faid, Mr.*Gorton*, I can ſpeakenothing will helpe your maid. And indeed her whole testimony was againſt her and for the old womans caufe, whereupon hee openly faid, Take heed thou wicked woman, the earth doth not open and fwallow thee up. And then hee demanded of the Court if hee ſhould have equity and juſtice in his caufe or no? To which was anſwered, if he had either plea or evidence to produce in his maids caufe it ſhould be heard. Then hee nominated one *Weekes* who could ſay ſomething to it. *Weekes* was called and required to take his oath before hee ſpake; at which *Gorton* and *Weekes* both of them jeered and laughed and told the Court they were ſkilled in Idols, and that was one, and stood ſtoutly a long time to make it good. Hereupon ſome of the Court put him in mind how they had forewarneſſed him of fuch carriages fearing he would fall into ſome extremes. At length the Governour gathering up the fumme of what was witneſſed, commends it to the Jewry. At which time *Gorton* faid, the Court had perverted Juſtice and wrefted the witneſſes, with very many high and reproachfull termes; and in the midſt of his violence throwing his hands about, hee touched the Deputy Governour with his handkerchiefe buttons about his eares (who it feemeſſe fate at a Table with his backe towards him) whereupon the Deputy faid, what will you fall about my eares? To which *Gorton* anſwered I know not whether you have any eares or no? and if you have, I know not where they ſtand; but I will not touch

touch them with a paire of Tongues. The Governour often calling upon the Jewry to attend the Caufe, was as often interrupted by him. Whereupon many of their Freemen being present, desired the Court they would not suffer such infolencies, professing they were troubled the Court had borne with them so long. For which in briefe, hee was committed, but when the Governour bade the Marfhall take him away ; hee bade take away *Coddington*, which was their Governors name: a thing I thought meet to explaine, left thou shouldest not understand it by the Heads of the Prefentinent here following, abusing all and every particular of the Magistrates with opprobrious terms. But note when hee was committed upon his mutinous and seditious speeches, *Weekes*, *Holden*, &c. his abettors, stopped the way with such insolency, as the Governour was forced to rise from the Bench, to helpe forward the Command with his person, in clearing the way, put *Weekes* in the stocks, and was forced to command a guard of armed men to preferve themselves and the peace of the place: And this they did because of some fore-going jealousies; and now taking occasion to search the houses of that party that adhered to him, they found many of their peeces laden with bullet: and by meanes hereof they were forced to continue their guard, whilſt upon their banishment they were forced from the Island.

And however it were enough for a Book alone to relate all the particulars of his insolent carriage, yet take notice onely of two or three particulars: 1 When hee was censured to bee whipt and banished, he appealed to *England*; they asked to whom? Hee said with a loud voice, *To King Charles*. They told him, hee shoulf first have his punishment, and then afterwards hee might complain. To which hee replyed, take notice *I appeale to King Charles, Celo, or Selah*; the party who was present told mee hee could not tell which , but that word was spoken with an extraordinary high and loud voice.

A ſecond thing to be obſerved, was , that after hee had been ſo deservedly whipt, ſome of his faction ſaid, Now Christ Jefus had ſuffered.

And thirdly, although the weather was very cold, the Governour going away after execution of Justice upon him, yet he ran a good way after the Governour, drawing a chaine after one of his legs, the upper part of his body being ſtill naked, and told him, He had

but lent him this, and hee shoulde surely have it again. All this I had from a man of very good repute, who then lived with them, and was an eye and eare witneffe to all thefe proceedings.

In the next place take notice good Reader, that when hee went from hence well whipt, as before, and entred upon his banishment, the place hee went to (in a sharpe seafon) was a Town called *Providence*, where Mr. *Roger Williams*, & divers others lived, who in regard of the feafon, entertained them with much humane curteſie, but the *Gortonians* anſwered all like *Aſops* snake, as thou maift read by the ſeverall Letters of the chief Inhabitants of that place, by a notorious faction there alſo by them raifed, to the great diſtractiōn and amazement of the Inhabitants, as appeareth by their dolefull complaints in their own Letters, a true Copy whereof I preſent unto thee.

[Errata: l. 10,  
for by read in.]

*The sum of the Presentment of Samuel Gorton at Portſmouth in Roade-Island, by the Grand Jury.*

**F**Irſt, that *Samuel Gorton* certaine dayes before his appearance at this Court, faid, the Government was ſuch as was not to bee ſubjeſted unto, foraſmuch as it had not a true derivation, becauſe it was altered from what it firſt was.

2 That *Samuel Gorton* contumelioſly reproached the Magiſtrates calling them Juſt Aſſes.

3 That the faid *Gorton* reproachfully caſled the Judges, or ſome of the Juſtices on the Bench ( corrupt Judges) in open Court.

4 That the faid *Gorton* queſtioned the Court for making him to waite on them two dayes formerly, and that now hee would know whether hee ſhould bee tryed in an hoſtile way, or by Law, or in ſobriety.

5 The faid *Gorton* alledged in open Court, that hee looked at the Magiſtrates as Lawyers, and caſled Mr. *Easton*, Lawyer *Eaſton*.

6 The faid *Gorton* charged the Deputy Governor to bee an Abetter of a Riot, Affault, or Battery, and profeſſed that hee would not touch him, no not with a paire of tongues: Moreover he faid, I know not whether thou haſt any eares, or no: as alſo, I think thou knoweft

knowest not where thy ears stand, and charged him to be a man unfit to make a Warrant.

7 The said *Gorton* charged the Bench for wresting witnesse, in this expreſſion, I professe you wreſt witneſſe.

8 The said *Gorton* called a Freeman in open Court (saucy Boy, and Jack-an-Apes;) and faid, the woman that was upon her oath, would not speake againſt her mother, although ſhe were damned where ſhe stood.

9 The faid *Gorton* affirmed that Mr. *Eaſton* behaved himſelfe not like a Judge, and that himſelfe was charged either basely or falſly.

10 The faid *Gorton* faid to the Bench, Ye intrude Oaths, and goe about to catch me.

11 The faid *Gorton* being reproved for his miscarriage, held up his hand, and with extremitie of ſpeech ſhooke his hand at them, infomuch that the Freemen preſent faid, Hee threatens the Courte.

12 The faid *Gorton* charged the Court with acting the ſecond part of *Plymouth Magiftrates*, who, as hee faid, condemned him in the Chimney corner, ere they heard him ſpeak.

13 The faid *Gorton* in open Court did profeffe to maintaine the quarrell of another being his Maid-fervant.

14 The faid *Gorton* being commanded to priſon, imperioſly refiſted the authority, and made open Proclamation, faying, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to priſon; the Gouverour faid again, all you that owne the King, take away *Gorton* and carry him to priſon; *Gorton* replied, all you that own the King, take away *Coddington*, and carry him to priſon.

*William Dyre Secretary.*

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*Mr. Roger VVilliams his Letter unto Mr. VVinthrop,  
concerning Samuel Gorton.*

*Providence 8. 1<sup>ft.</sup> 1640.*

**M**After *Gorton* having foully abufed high and low at *Aquednick*, is now bewitching and bemadding poore *Providence*, both with his uncleane and foule censures of all the Minifters of this Country, (for which my ſelf have in Chrifts name withſtood him) and alſo denying all viſible and exterrall Ordinances in depth of Familiſme,

Familisme, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the most High affisiting) to death: As *Paul* said of *Afia*, I of *Providence* (almost) All stuck in his poyson, as at first they did at *Aquednick*. Some few and my selfe withstand his Inhabitation, and Towne-priviledges , without confession and reformation of his uncivill and inhumane practifes at *Portsmouth* : Yet the tyde is too strong against us, and I feare (if the framer of Hearts helpe not)it will force mee to little Patience, a little Isle next to your Prudence. Jehovah himselfe bee pleased to bee a Sanctuary to all whose hearts are perfect with him; In him I desire unfainedly to be

*Your Worships true and affectionate*

Roger Williams.

*Providence this 17. of November, Anno 1641.*

*To the Honourd Gouvernor of Maffachusett, together with the  
Worshipfull Affistant, and our loving Neighbours there.*

**V**VE the Inhabitants of the Town abovefaid, having faire occasions, counted it meet and necessary to give you true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of *Samuel Gorton* and his company,which came from the Island of *Aquednick*; which continue still as fojourners amongst us; together with *John Greene*, and *Francis Weston*, two which have this long time stood in opposition against us, and against the fairest and most just and honest ways of proceedings in order and Government , that wee could rightly and truly use, for the peaceable preseruation and quiet subsistence of our selves and families, or any that should have faire occasion to goe out or come in amongst us. Also six or seven of our Townsmen which were in peaceable Covenants with us, which now by their declamations doe cut themselves off from us, and jointly under their hands have openly proclaimed, to take party with the afore-named Companies, and so intend for ought wee can gather, to have no manner of honest order, or government either over them or amongst them, as their writings, words, and actions

actions doe most plainly shew. It would bee tedious to relate the numberleffe number of their upbraiding taunts, affaults, and threats, and violent kinde of carriage daily practised against all that either with care or counfell seek to prevent or withstand their lewd licentious courses. Yet in briefe to commit some few of them to your moderate Judgements, left wee our selves shold bee deemed some way blinded in the occurrences of things, here is a true Copy of their Writing incloſed, which *Francis Weston* gave us the 13. of this prefent Moneth, they having alſo ſetup a Copy of the fame on a tree in the ſtreet, in ſtead of ſatisfaction for fifteenne pounds, which by way of arbitration of eight men orderly choſen, and all cauſes and reaſons that could bee found, daily and truly examined, and conſidered jointly together, when hee the ſaid *Francis Weston* was found liable to pay, or make ſatisfaction in Cattle or Commodities, but on the 15. of this prefent moneth, when wee went orderly, openly, and in a warrantable way to attach ſome of the ſaid *Francis Westons* Cattle, to drive them to the Pound, to make him, if it were poſſible, to make ſatisfaction: which *Samuel Gorton* and his company getting notice of, came and quarrelled with us in the ſtreet, and made a tumultuous Hubbub; and although for our parts wee had before-hand moſt principally armed our ſelves with patiencce, peaceably touffer as much injury, as could poſſibly bee born, to avoid all ſhedding of blood, yet ſome few drops of blood were ſhed on either ſide: And after the tumult was partly appeaſed, and that we went on orderly into the Corne-field, to drive the ſaid Cattle, the ſaid *Francis Weston* came furioſly running with a flayle in his hand, and cryed out, Helpe Sirs, helpe firs, they are going to ſteale my cattle, and ſo continued crying till *Randall Holden*, *John Greene*, and ſome others came running and made a great outcry, and hollowing and crying, Theeves, theeves, ſtealing cattle, ſtealing cattle, and ſo the whole number of their desperate company came riotouſly running, and ſo with much ſtriving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then preſumptuouſly anſwered, they had made a rescue, and that ſuch ſhould bee their practife if any men at any time, in any cafe attach any thing that is theirs. And fully to relate the leaſt part of their ſuch like words and actions, the time and paper would ſcarce bee profitably ſpent, neither need wee to advise your diſcretions what is likely to bee the fad events of theſe diſorders, if their bloody currents bee not either ſtopped,

or turned some other way. For it is plaine to us, that if men shoule continue to resist all manner of order, and orderly answering one of another in different cafes, they will suddenly practise, not onely cunningly to detaine things one from another, but, openly in publike, justly or unjustly, according to their own wills disorderly take what they can come by; first pleading neccesity, or to maintaine wife and family; but afterwards boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts, they will put no manner of difference between houfes, goods, lands, wives, lives, blood, nor any thing will bee precious in their eyes: If it may therefore please you of gentle curtefie, and for the preseruation of humanity and mankinde, to consider our condition, and lend us a neighbour-like helping hand, and send us such affistance (our neccesity urging us to bee troublefome unto you) to helpe us to bring them to satisfacion, and ease us of our burden of them, at your discretions; wee shall evermore owne it as a deed of great charity, and take it very thankfully, and diligently labour in the best measure wee can, and constantly practise to requite your loving kindnesse, if you shoule have occasion to command us, or any of us in any lawfull designe: And if it shall please you to send us any speedy answere, we shall take it very kindly, and bee ready and willing to satisfie the Messengers, and ever remaine

*Your loving Neighbours, and respective Friends*

<i>Joshuah Winfor</i>	<i>William Field</i>
<i>Benedict Arnold</i>	<i>William Harris</i>
<i>William Mean</i>	<i>William Wickenden</i>
<i>William Hawkings</i>	<i>William Reinolds</i>
<i>Robert West</i>	<i>Thomas Harris</i>
	<i>Tho. Hopkins mark</i>
	<i>Hugh Bennit</i>
	<i>William Carpenter.</i>

*Providence*

*Providence the 25. of the 3. month, 1641.*

*To the rest of the five Men appointed to manage the affaires of our Towne aforesaid, These are further to give you to understand; VIZ. That*

**I** Doe not onely approve of what my neighbours before me have written and directed their Reafons to a serious confideration with us, concerning *Samuel Gorton* and his Company: but this much I say also, that it is evident and may easilly bee proved, that the said *Samuel Gorton* nor his Company are not fit persons to bee received in, and made members of such a body, in so weake a state as our Towne is in at preſent.

My Reafons are, *Viz.*

First, *Samuel Gorton* having shewed himſelfe a railing and turbulent perfon, not onely in and againſt thoſe ſtates of Government from whence hee came, as is to bee proved; but alſo here in this Towne ſince hee haue fojournd here; Witneſſe his proud challenge, and his upbraiding accuſations in his vilifying and opprobrious terms of, and againſt one of our Combination moft wrathfully and shameleſſly reviling him, and diſturbing of him, and meddlin with him, who was implored and buſied in other private occaſions, hauing no juſt cauſe ſo to revile and abuſe him, faying alſo to him (and that of another ſtate) in a base manner, they were like ſwine that held out their Noſe to ſuck his blood, and that now hee and the reſt of his Company would goe and wallow in it alſo; which are indeed words unſufferable; and alſo deſpitefully calling him Boy, as though hee would haue challenged the field of him, in ſuch an inhumane behaviour as becomes not a man that ſhould bee thought to be fit by any reaſonable men to be received into ſuſh a poor weak ſtate as we are in at preſent.

Secondly, another of his Company, one who is muſh in eſteem with him, who openly in a ſcornfull and deriding manner, feeing one of the five men that was choſen by the Towne, and beſtruſted in the Towne affaires, comming towards him in the ſtreet, hee asked of one that ſtood by him, who that was; the other anſwered him, it was one of the five men appointed for managing of our Towne

affaires , or the like: Yea, said hee , Hee looks like one of the five, which words import not onely a scorning and deriding of his person of whom then hee spake, but also a despising and scorning of our Civill State, as it were trampling it under foot, as they had done by other States before they came hither, who were of greater strength then wee are ; for which cause I cannot see such perfons to bee fit to bee received into such a State as our Towne is.

Thirdly, I cannot finde these men to bee reasonable men in their suite unto the Towne, to be received in as Townsmen, feeing they have already had a plaine denyall of their request, and that by the consent of the major part of the Towne, or very neare, &c. and are yet unanfwerable ; and also that they feeing that their coming to our Towne , hath brought the Towne into a hurry, almost the one halfe against the other, in which estate no Towne or City can well stand or subsist ; which declareth plainly unto us, that their intent is not good, but that their abode so long here amongst us, is in hope to get the victory over one part of the Town, but specially of thofe that laid the first foundation of the place, and bought it even almost with the losse of their lives , and their whole estates, and afterwards to trample them under their feet, as some of their words hold forth, or else to drive them out into the same condition, to seek out a new *Providence*, and to buy it with the like hardnesse as they first bought this place; these, and many other like reafons that may be shewed, declare that they are not fit persons to be received into our meane and weake State.

Fourthly, and feeing hee who is so well knowne to bee the ring-leader unto the breach of peace, that have been so notoriously evill to bee a trouble of Civill States where hee hath lived, that are of farre greater force then wee are of, specially that State who have their Commission and Authority from the Higher Powers; what may wee then expect if he could get himselfe in with, and amongst so many as wee fee are daily ready to tread us under their feet , and his, whom he calis friends,&c.Surely, first a breach of our civill peace, and next a ruine of all such as are not of his side, as their daily practise doth declare ; *Ergo*, they are not fit perfons to be received into our Towne, &c.

*Object.* If it bee objected, as some have blasphemously said, that wee are perfecutors, and doe perfecute the Saints , in not receiving

receiving of them into our Towne-fellowship, &c.

*Answ.* To this I answere, there cannot bee proved the least shew of any perfecution of thofe perfon, either by us, or by any other amongt us to our knowledge. For 1 they have quiet abode amongt us, none molefting or troubling of them, nor any thing they have. 2 It cannot bee proved but by their owne relation, the which hath been disproved; that they were fent out from thofe places from whence they came for Religion, neither are they meddled with here for any fuch matter, but rather that they themfelves in their bravery are more ready to meddle with others. 3 They themfelves and others of their followers, have rather been troublers and perfecutors of the Saints of God that lived here before they came, and doe but waite their opportunity to make themfelves manifest in that they intend; *Ergo*, it cannot bee truly faid of any, that any perfecution is offered by us unto them, if it could pofibly be faid of them that they are Saints.

*Obj.* But if it be further objected, that we doe not give them the liberty of men, neither doe wee afford them the bowells of mercy, to give them the meanes of livelihood amongt us, as fome have faid.

*Answ.* To this I say; 1 there is no State but in the firſt place will feeke to preſerve its owne ſafety and peace. 2 Wee cannot give land to any perfon by vertue of our combination, except wee firſt receive them into our ſtate of combination, the which wee cannot doe with them for our owne and others peace-fake, &c. 3 Whereas their neceſſity have been fo much pleaded, it is not knowne that ever they fought to finde out a place where they might accommoda- te themfelves, and live by themfelves, with their friends, and fuch as will follow after them, where they may uſe their liberty to live without order or controule, and not to trouble us, that have taken the fame courſe as wee have done for our ſafety and peace, which they doe not approve nor like of, but rather like beaſts in the ſhape of men to doe what they ſhall thinke fit in their owne eyes, and will not bee governed by any State. And feeing they doe but here linger out the time in hope to get the day to make up their penny-worths in advantage upon us, we have juſt cauſe to heare the complaints of fo many of our Neighbors that live in the Town orderly amongt us, and have brought in their complaints, with many rea- fons againſt them, and not to admit them, but anſwer them as unfit perſons

perfons to bee received into our meane State, &c.

Now if thefe Reafons and much more which have been truly  
faid of them, doe not fatisfie you, and the reft of our neighbours,  
but that they muft be received into our Towne-state, even unto our  
utter overthrow, &c. then according to the order agreed upon by  
the Towne, I doe firſt offer my houſe and land within the liberty of  
the Towne unto the Towne to buy it of mee, or elſe I may, and  
ſhall take liberty to ſell it to whom I may for mine advantage, &c.

*William Arnold.*

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## A

# PARTICVLAR ANSWER TO THE

Manifold Slanders and abominable Falsehoods

contained in a Book, called *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed Policy*: Wherein *Samuel Gorton*

is proved a disturber of Civill Societies,despe-  
rately dangerous to his Country-men

the English in *New-Engl.* and  
notorioufly flanderous in what  
he hath Printed of them.



HEN first I entertained the desires of the Countrey to come over to answere the complaints of *Samuel Gorton*, &c. and to render a reason of the just and righteous proceedings of the Countrey of *New-Engl.* in the severall parts of it, against him being a common disturber of the peace of all Societies where hee came, witnes *New-Plymouth*, *2 Roade-Island*, *3 Providence*, and lastly the *Maffachufets*, being the most eminent; I little thought then to have appeared in print: but comming into *England*, and finding a Booke written by Mr. *Gorton* called *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed policy: or, A true complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English in New-Engl. made unto the State of Old-England, against cruell persecutors united in Church-Government in thofe parts.* I then conceiv'd my selfe bound in duty to take off the many groffe and publike scandalls held forth therein, to the great amazement of many tender consciences in the Kingdom, who are not acquainted with his proud

*Sam. Gorton* a  
common distur-  
ber of the Civil  
peace in all the  
Societies hee  
there lived in.

proud and turbulent carriage, nor fee the Lion under his Lambskinne coate of *simplicity and peace*. The Lord knowes how unwilling I was personally to engage: and I trust hee will alfo guide mee in answering his booke, as I shall bee farre from bitternesse: tis true, time was when his person was precious in mine eies, and therefore I hope and desire onely to make a righteous and just defence to the many unworthy things by him boldly, ignorantly, proudly, and falfly published to the great dishonour of God in wronging and scandalizing his Churches, which the Lord Jesus Christ will not leave unpunished.

I know the world is full of controversies and tis my great griefe to see my dearnative Country so engaged in them, especially one godly person against another. 'Tis my present comfort I come not to accuse any; but to defend *New-England* against the injurious complaints of *Samuel Gorton, &c.* but as it comes to passe oftentimes that men wound others unavoidably in defending their persons from the violent assaults of such as draw upon them, which otherwise they would never have done: so if Mr. *Gorton* receive any such hurt (which is unavoidable) hee becomes an accessary therunto: by forcing mee to defend the Country, without which I should bee unfaithfull.

I know the world is too full of bookes of this kinde, and therefore however I am unfitted of many things I have and could procure at home would well become a relation of the late and present state of *New England*, yet I shall now onely with as great brevity as may bee give answere to such injurious complaints as hee maketh of us. And however his Title, Preface, and every leafe of his booke may bee justly found fault with, I shall clearely answere to matters of fact, such as hee chargeth the feveral Governments withall, so as any indifferent Reader may easily disceerne how grofly wee are abused, and how just and righteous censures were against him for disturbing the civill peace of all societies where hee came, in such a manner as no Government could possibly beare: and for the *blasphemies* for which hee was proceeded against at *Maffachusets*, they fell in occasionally by his owne meanes withoutany circumstance leading thereunto.

*Pag. i.* And firt whereas hee accuseth us in the first page of his booke to goe over to *suppreffe hereticks*. 'Tis well knowne we went thither for no such end laid downe by us, but to enjoy those liberties the

Lord

Lord Jesus Christ had left unto his Church to avoid the Episcopall tyranny, and the heavy burthens they imposed, to which sufferings the kingdome by this ever to bee honoured Parliament have and doe bear witness to, as religious and just. And that wee might also hold forth that truth and ancient way of God wherein wee walke, which Mr. Gorton calls heresie. Next in the same *Pag.* hee chargeth us with *affection of Titles, &c.* To which I answere, either we must live without Government, or if wee have Governours wee must give them wee call such Titles as are futable to their offices and places they beare in Church and Common-wealth, as Governours and Assitants, Pastors, Teachers, Rulers, Deacons, &c. these are our highest Titles we give.

In his seconde *pag.* hee chargeth the *Maffachufets to unite with other Colonies to the end they might bathe themselves in bloud and feed themselves fat with the lives of their brethren, &c.* This is a notorious slander. 'Tis true that the *Maffachufets* new *Plimouth, Conectacut, and New-haven,* I meane the severall Colonies there entred into a civill combination, and are called by the name of the *United Colonies*, and this was occasioned by a generall conspiracy of the Indians against the body of the English there seated, together with the distracted condition of *England*, from whom we could expect no helpe at that time. But Mr. Gorton and his company fell at that time into more then ordinary familiarity with the *Nanohigganset Indians*, who were the principal contrivers of the Villany; who where they could not draw others to them by force or flattery, they did it by large gifts, &c. as I could prove by many testimonies of the Indians, many hundred miles asunder from each other, in which defigne had not the finger of God in much mercy prevented, I had beeene the first had fallen; which I forbear to relate here, being what I now doe, is but an answere to his invective,

Next in the same *pag.* hee tells us at his landing *how hee found his Country men at great variance at Boston in point of Religion;* But had not hee holpen to blow the bellowes the flame might never have beeene so great. And whereas hee said that *Mr. Williams was banished hence for differing from us being a man of good report, &c.* In answere, I. take notice, I know that *Mr. Williams* (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times *the unlawfuleffe of our Letters Patents* from the King, &c. would not allow the *Colours of our Nation*, denied the *lawfuleffe*

*neffe of a publique oath as being needleffe to the Saints, and a prophanation of Gods name to tender it to the wicked, &c.* And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points: however I am sorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God cals mee at this time to take off these aspersions.

In *pag.3.* hee mentions the proceedings of the *Maffachufets* against Mr. *John Wheelwright &c.* Had it beene the will of God I would those differences had never been: But the maine difference was about a Petition by way of Remonstrance, which the Government tooke very offensive: But Mr. *Wheelwright* and they are reconciled, hee having given satisfaction, &c. In the same *pag.* hee wrongs the doctrine of our Churches, which is well knowne to bee found. But whereas hee tels us in the same *pag.* of denying *cohabitation, and of whippings, confinement, imprisonment, chaines, fines, banishment.* I confesse all these things befell him, and most justly: for hee was bound to the good behaviour at *Plimouth* and brooke his bonds in the face of the Court, whipt and banished at *Roade Island* for mutinie and sedition in the open Court there: also at *Providence* as factious there though his party grew greater then Mr. *Williams* his better party, as appeares by his and their sad letters to the Government of the *Maffachufet* for helpe and advice; and afterwards banished the *Maffachufets*: all which appeares in another place of this booke, and the just caufes of their proceedings annexed thereunto. Lastly in this *pag.* hee tels us of his hardship divers nights together, that himselfe and the rest of his mutinous companions, as *Weekes, Holden, &c.* endured, which was just with God and man, for extream evils must have extreame remedies, and yet tis well knowne tis not a full dayes journey from *Roade Island* to *Providence*. And whereas a stranger would thinke hee was then forced to goe to *Nanhiganset-Bay* amongst the Indians, hee went not from *Providence* till they were as weary of these Mutineeres as either *Plimouth* or *Roade Island* had beeene before them.

And because hee often mentioneth the hard measure hee received at *Plimouth*, still carrying it on as if difference in Religion had beeene the ground of it: I thought good here to give the Reader to understand what was the ground of his troubles there, that so all men may know what Religion this man is of: for the tree is best knowne by its fruite. The first complaint that came against him for which hee was brought before authority, was by Mr. *Ralph Smith* a Minister, who

who being of *Gortons* acquaintance received him with his family into his house, with much humanity and Christian respect, promising him as free use of it as himselfe, &c. but Mr. *Gorton* becomming troublesome, (after meanes used to remove the offences taken by Mr. *Smith*, but to no purpose, growing still more insolent) Mr. *Smith* desired him to provide elsewhere for himselfe: but *Gorton* refused, saying, hee had as good interest in the house as Mr. *Smith* had. And when hee was brought before Authority, stood stoutly to maintaine it to our amafement. But was ordered to depart and provide other wayes by a time appointed. And not long after there comming a woman of his acquaintance to *Plimouth*, divers came to the Governour with complaints against her, being a stran-  
ger, for unworthy and offensive speeches and carriages used by her. Whereupon the Governour sent to her to know her busynesse, &c. and commanded her departure, and ordered the Sea-man that brought her, to returne her to the place from whence shee came, at his next passage thither. But *Gorton* said shee should not goe, for hee had occasion to employ her, &c. Hereupon the Governour (it being in the time of a Court) sent for him, and because hee had hidde her, stood in justification of his practise and refused to obey the command of the Court (who seconded the Governours order.) He was committed till hee could procure fureties for his good behaviour till the next Court which was a generall Court, and there to answer to this contempt. The time being come and the Court sat, *Gorton* was called; But the Governour being wearied with speech to other caufes, requested one of his Affistantants who was present at his commitment and privy to the whole caufe to declare the same. This Affistantant no sooner stood up to shew the Country the caufe of his bonds in the great affront hee had given the Government, but *Gorton* stretching out his hand towards his face said with a loud voice, *If Satan will accuse the brethren, let him come downe from Jehoshuabs right hand and stand here*, And that done, in a feditious manner turned himselfe to the people and said, with his armes spread abroad; *Yee see good people how yee are abused! Stand for your liberty; And let them not bee parties and judges*, with many other opprobrious speeches of that kinde. Hereupon divers Elders of Churches being present, desiring leave of the Governour to speake, complaining of his feditious carriage, and requested the Court not to suffer these abuses, but to inflict condigne punishment. And yet notwithstanding all wee did

[Errata: l. 37,  
for complain-  
ing, read, com-  
plained.]

to him was but to take the forfeiture of his foresaide bonds for his good behaviour. Nay being but low and poore in his estate, wee tooke not above eight or ten pounds of it, leſt it might lie too heavy upon his wife and children. But he muſt either get new ſureties for the behaviour till the next generall Court, or ſuch time as he departed the Government, or lie in priſon till hee could: now hee knowing his outragious paſſions which hee could not reſtraine, pro cured ſureties, but immediately left *Plimouth* and went to *Roade Island*, where upon complaint of our perſecutions hee found preſent re lief there: yet foone afterward he abuſed them in a greater mea ſure and had heavier yet too light a punishment inflicted on him, and all for breach of the civill peace and notorious contempt of Authority without the leaſt mention of any points of Religion on the Governments part, but as before.

And whereas in pag. 4. Mr. Gorton further accuſeth us that they were deprived and taken away from their quiet poſſeſſions, &c. Such was his carriage at *Plimouth* and *Providence* at his firſt ſettling as neither of the Governments durft admit or receive him into cohabitation, but refuſed him as a peſt to all ſocieties. Againe in the fame pag. he accuſeth *Maffachufets* and *Plimouth* to have denied them to be in our Government, but when wee perceived the place to bee a refuge for ſuch as were opprefſed then, &c. "Tis true that *Plimouth* gave way to Mr. Williams and his company to ſit downe at *Providence* and have never moleſted them to this day, but refuſed *Gorton* and *Weekes*, &c. upon *Weekes* his follicitation when I was at *Providence* for the reaſons before mentioned, &c. And for thoſe particular relations he makes of *Robert Cole*, *William Arnold*, and *Benedict* his ſonne, I wave, as not being ſo well acquainted with their caſes, but fee hee writes with a venomous pen; onely take notice he would make it a great crime in them to trade on the Sabbath (as it is) when himſelfe at that time denied the ſanctification of it.

In pag. 5. hee complaines that powder was traded to the Indians and denied to them. *Anſw.* If it were traded to the Indians, for my part I approve it not, it being againſt the expreſſe law of the Country, and a large penalty annexed: but there was good reaſon to refuſe it to them which held ſuch familiarity with Malignant Indians eſpecially during the time of their confederacy againſt us.

In pag. 6. he ſpeakes as if hee had beeſe under ſome cenſure of the *Maffachufets*

*Maffachufets* at the time of the warrant there by him specified, how truly copied I know not: but am fure at this time he was perfonally under no censure of theirs.

In pag. 7. hee accusest Magiftrates and Minifters for bringing in all the accusations that came in againt them. Who but publique perfons should take notice of publique infolencies? And as for Mr. *Collens* his ftry I am a ftranger to, but beleeve it is misreported as well as others.

In pag. 8. hee manifests hee durft not live under a forraigne Prince, meaning the Dutch, having never been falfe to his King and Country, &c. with many ignorant fwelling words; as if it were treason to ones Prince to live under a forraigne State though an Ally. And in the fame pag. hee would lay the death of Miftris *Hutchenson* who was mother in law to Mr. *Collens*,on us: although they went from *Road Island* which is not under the *Maffachufets* where fhee had liued fome yeares after her remove from the Bay, and not from the *Maffachufets* to the Dutch of her owne accord where they were cut offby the Indians.

In pag. 9. he shewes how they bought lands of *Myantonimo* Prince of thofe parts. Anfw. 1. Hee was not the Prince of that part as was proved publiquely at *Maffachufets* himfelfe being prefent. 2. He had no proper right in it, as is shewed at large elfewhere.

In the fame pag. he beginneth a large letter full of railing blaſphemies which continueth to pag. 31. and however it bee not exactly fet downe as it was fent,yet I admire at Gods providence, for hee is falne into the fnare he laid, this being brought againt him to accufe him of blaſphemey, before a Committee of Parliament, who called in his book, and referred him to the Houfe,&c.but I forbeare to shew his folly here, which is referred to another place and his wickedneſſe discovered therein.

In pag. 32. hee faith the Government of the *Maffachufets* had no shew of any thing againt them but Religion, and yet the whole carried on in his owne way as well as what wee now print, shewes it was in the right of two Indian *Sachims*, namely *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, who placing themfelves under the protection cfthe *Maffachufets* complained of violence offered them by Mr. *Gorton*and his company, it being our manner both in Capitals and Criminals to doe them the like justice wee doe one to another, wherein walking by the fame rules of righteouſneſſe towards them, they have

have the leffe cause to take offence at us.

From pag.33. forward, are many Letters which I cannot beleeve al is in them, and therfore remain jealous of his sincirity in Printing them.

In pag.37. hee holds forth conversion to be the ground of the *Maffachusets* fending to them, now to that end, faith hee, they sent a Minister. 'Tis true, there was a gracious young man one Mr. *Joh. Bulkley* then a Student, but in no ministery, went to teach to the Company they sent to guard their owne Commissioners, and to bring in *Corton* if need required: but I dare not beleeve what hee affirmes. And for the Copy of a Letter hee fathers upon the Commissioners sent by the Government of the *Maffachuset*; I conclude 'tis rather set downe upon memory then right, because of some attestations I have by me to make use on elsewhere, which feeme to hold forth the contrary, and so I doe not credit it.

In pag. 38, & 39. hee relates how their wives were frigted at mens prefenting their muskets at them, &c. and suffering such hard-ships as occasioned death, &c. Which must also bee false, for honest men have deposid there was no such prefentment, and that their wives came freely and familiarly to them, both before and after they were taken. So also hee affirmes our men would allow of no parley but private, or else they would dispatch them in a quarter of an houre, which I will never beleeve, because I know the men to bee men fearing God, and durst not proceed as hee relateth it.

In pag. 40, & 41. he also taxeth the Commissioners and fouldiers with breach of Covenants in time of treaty, as, *breaking open their houfes, desks, killing their cattle, &c.* All which is falfe, for oath is made to the contrary, which I shall make use of before my Lord of *Warwick* Governour in chiefe, and the rest of the honourable Committee for foraign Plantations in due time and place, that whereas they were by agreement to have two houfes for their company being about 40 men, they made use of but one, nor did any of these things laid to their charge.

In pag.45. he would make *Pumham* and *Socononoco*, the naturall subiects of *Myantonimo* their Prince; but this was disproved. And in the same page, he faith, the Magistrates suggested to the people as though there were *feare of fome combination between the Indians and them.* *Anfw.* I dare not say you had a hand in the depth of their conspiracy: but this I thinke you dare not deny, that *Weekes* one  
of

of your stoutest Champions, lent *Myantonimo* an Armour, in which he was taken in battell against *Uncus*, who was under the protection of the English united Colonies: for which *Uncus* put him to death; and in your own book you hold forth more familiarity then becomes you.

But here it will bee necessary for mee to shew you the ground of this warre. There was a people called by the name of the *Pecoats*, being a stout warlike people, who had been at warre with the *Nanohiggansets* many yeares, and were too stong for them; so also were they at some distance of affection with this *Uncus*, who was *Sachim* of a people called the *Mohegans*, neare the head of a River falleth into the sea at *Peccoat*. The chiefe *Sachim* of this people of *Peccoat*, was called *Tatobam*, a stout man. The *Nanohiggansets* and these strove who should be greatest. This *Tatobam* envied the English, and was the first stirrer and contriver of this generall Plot, that they might all joyne together to destroy the English; but the *Nanohiggansets* refused to joyne with them, knowing if that were once done, the next ruine must be their owne. Afterward having subdued many small peoples, and one as great as themselves, and some English planting more neare then the body of our Plantations, though without wrong to him, or any of them, hee cut off Captaine *Stone* his Barke and Company, and after this killed divers stragling English. This stirred up the English to take revenge: The *Nanohiggansets* and *Uncus*, *Sachim* of the *Moheges* seeing this, because it was against their comon Enemy, offered their service to joyn with the English: the *Nanohiggansets* did no considerable service in comparisyon of the *Moheges*, who did as much as could bee expected, but the *Nanohiggansets* rather gathered up the spoile, to the great offence of the English and *Moheges*, seldome ingaging in any fight. The English killed and destroyed this people utterly, so that those that were left remaining utterly deserted the Countrey, and the English wonne it, and are now posseffed of it. After this victory, *Myantonimo Sachim* or Lord of the *Nanohiggansets*, and *Uncus* Lord of the *Moheges*, manifested no good blood towards each other; the English at *Hartford* where the Government for *Coneetacut* is held, hearing of it, got them together, and made a peace and threefold Covenant between the Government of *Coneetacut*, *Nanohigganset*, and *Mohege*, which was signed by the Goverour of *Coneetacut*, *Myantonimo Sachim* of *Nanohigganset*, and *Uncus Sachim* of *Mohegan*. The  
Cove-

Covenants ran to this purpose, To confirme their League between the English and them, and either to other, and to hold forth a league of perpetuall peace between them. And in case any difference shoulde arise between these two Indian *Sachims*, or their people, the party offended shoulde complaine to the Governour of *Connetacut*, who was to mediate and to determine the controverie between his two friends and their people: And in case the injury were great, and the party wronging would not stand to the forefaid award and determination, then it shoulde not onely bee lawfull for the wronged to right himselfe by force of Armes, but for the English party alio to afflit the innocent in that kind. And to this they all firmed as before.

The *Nanohigganset Sachim* never regarded this Covenant, the *Mohege Sachim* ever faithfully obserued it. But *Myantonimo* of *Nanohigganset* had thoughts now to prosecute the *Pecoats* designe, and to destroy the English, (the *Pecoats* Nation being rooted out by Gods just judgement as before) and travells farre and neare to draw all the Indians in the Countrey into this horrid confederacy with him; but this *Uncus* would not bee wonne, though he would have taken his daughter in marriage, but ever acquainted the English with his working. At length an inferiour *Sachim*, subordinate to *Nanohigganset* affronts him and his men, hee complains to the English, they fend to this inferiour *Sachim*, hee sleights their admonition, goes on his course; whereupon the other demands leave to make warre upon him, not requiring any aide. Still the English forewarne the other party of the evill they were like to bring upon themselves; till at length they professe they have had peace enough, & now it is time to war. Whereupon the English give way to *Uncus* to revenge himselfe, he doth it; the other are beaten. Now *Myantonimo* he prepares an Army of above 1000 men, and comes upon a fudden upon *Uncus* without any respect to Covenants, and took *Uncus* at advantage, not with above 300 men; by which meanes they beset him every way in his Fort, which stands upon a point of Land between two Rivers. *Myantonimo* so dispersed his men to prevent their flight, as *Uncus* making a desperate falley with almost his full force, routed the other, flew neare upon an hundred, and forced them to fly: But Mr. *Weekes* one of *Samuel Gortons* company (as I am credibly informed) lending the Great *Sachim* a complete Armor; and having it on in the fight, was not able to fly so fast as his men, and

and was taken by this meanes. Yet such was *Uncus* respect still to the English, as hee kept him till hee fent to the English, *viz.* to the Right Worshippull *George Fenwick* Esquire, to know what he shoulde doe with him, who lived next to him, Hee wished him to follow their owne Custome, and to deale with him, as if hee had not advised with him, or there were no English in the land to advise withall. Hereupon hee resolved to have killed him forthwith, according to their Custome. But no soone were the *Nanohiggansets* got home, who had lost divers Sachims, Captaines, and chiefe men in this fight, but they fent to Mr. *Gorton*, &c. who fent a Note to *Uncus*, with a command by the bearer, that they put him not to death, but use him kindly and returne him. This the Messenger either said or they supposed came from the *Maffachusets* Governour, and did much daunt *Uncus* and his men: but to cleare up all, they advised with the Gent. of *Coneetacut*, who wished him to keep him prifoner, and to advise with the Commissioners of the United Colonies whereof they were part, whose meeting would bee ere long by course at the *Maffachusets*: which counsell hee followed, and entreated the Governour of *Coneetacut* (*Myantonimo* also desiring it) to keep him safe for him till then, whereupon hee was brought to *Hartford*: And many gifts were fent to the prisoner; which hee bestowed like himselfe, some on him that took him, some on *Uncus*, some on his wife, some on *Uncus* brother being a great Captaine, and some on others where he had received kindnesse, and this was all the ransome was paid, there being not so much as a ransome proposed by the *Nanohiggansets*, nor set down by *Uncus*. But hee advising with the Commissioners, theyconsidering how many ways besides open hostility he had fought the life of *Uncus*, by poyson, secret murther, witchcraft, &c. advised him to put him to death, there being no safety for him whilst hee lived, being so restlesse in his practice against his life; and therefore wished *Uncus* to proceed with him according to their owne Custome towards prisoners of Warre, which is to put them to death; according to which advice he proceeded, knowing now that none of the *Engl.* would intercede for him. And hereupon *Uncus* went to *Hartford* and demanded his prifoner, and led him to an house of his owne, out of the limits of the English, and there killed him, where was an English man or two by to prevent their accustomed cruelties, in cutting off not onely the head and hands of their prifoners when they are

dead, and make bracelets of the fore-joints of their fingers,&c. but to torture them whilst living with most inhumane cruelties. After this, the *Nanohiggansets* would warre upon him in revenge of his death; wee forbade them, and at our next meeting of Commissioners to consult about the Weale publike of the United Colonies, in regard the *Nanohiggansets* pleaded they had taken a ransome for his life, and his life also, which the other denied; Wee sent for *Uncus*, and sent to the great *Sachims* of *Nanohigganset* to come also, or appeare by Commissioners; but they sent foure Commissioners with full authority to treat, where we found neither ransome, nor colour of ransome in the leaft meaure. And so a truce was agreed on, & if *Uncus* brake it, we were then freed from our engagement to defend him any further, for they desired no more: And if the *Nanohiggansets* broke it, then it should be lawfull for us the United Colonies to take part with him, &c. But the truth is, though before they had so neare neighbours of the English, as *Gorton*, &c. and till *Myantonimo's* Government, as they were the most in number, and most peaceable of all the *Indians*, yet now they were changed, as if they had not been the people, and had their Tutors, Secretaries, and promptors to suggest their greatnessse and our weaknesse to them, as his Book witnesseth, in such manner as I am confident if the *Gortoniens* (for I take the phrase from his owne Book here, never hearing it before) bee fuffered to live so neare them, it will bee our ruine, or thefe *Indians* (which we desire not) in shourt time. I thought good to infert this Narration thus briefly, that the Reader might understand the ground of his many charges, calling God to witnessse I know not the leaft falshood related in it, but many things for brevities sake omitted worthy a history; but I am now about an answer, not an history, and therefore thus briefe. But to return.

In pag. 47. see how he scoffes at the Sabbath as if there were no other ground for our religious obseruation of it, then Mr. *Cottons* judgement. And in pag. 48. hee is full of many scoffs, as if hee and his *Gortoniens* would not, nor did shoot at all, when as I have oath to prove they shot also at the other, but the truth is, I heard some say that their powder was so dampe and moist as they could not without great difficulty discharge a peece, which I well beleeve might bee the reasoun they shot no more then they did.

In pag. 49. hee chargeth Captaine *Cooke* with breach of Articles: And yet I have it attelte upon oath, that there were none agreed on; only

onely they desired they might not goe bound; which was easily affented to, they behaving themselves quietly. And for their cattle, I never heard the number to be so great by farre; but asking the Governour of the *Maffachusets* about them, hee professed they did not amount to halfe their charges. And if any aske by what authority they went out of their own Government to do such an act? Know that his former feditious and turbulent carriage in all parts where he came, as *Plymouth, Roade-Island*, a place of greatest liberty, *Providence* that place which relieved him in that his so great extremity, and his so desperate close with so dangerous and potent enemies, and at such a time of Conspiracy by the same Indians, together with the wrongs done to the Indians, and English under the protection of that Government of the *Maffachusets*, who complained and desired relief; together with his notorious contempt of all Civill Government, as well as that particular, and his blasphemies against God needlesly manifested in his proud letters to them, one whereof hee hath printed, and the other I have herewith published for him. All these considered, you shall see hereby cause enough, why they proceeded against him as a common enemy of the Countrey. And as such an one, the said Commissioners being then met together at *Maffachusets* by course, for the Weale of the whole, upon just complaint ordered and thought meet that the Government of the *Maffachusets* should call them to accompt, and proceed with them so farre as stood with righteousnesse and justice: And by their declaration thou maist easily see they went no further, for they refusing safe conduct to come to answer to the matters against them, forced them upon this charge needlesly, which they made them beare part of as before. So that here's cause enough besides blasphemy for their proceeding with them I suppose.

In pag. 51. he chargeth *New-Engl.* Ministers to pray in the streets: but take notice I have been there these 26 yeares, and better, but never heard of such a practise, till I now reade it in his Book.

In pag. 52. he faith, the Governour to satisfie the people, said, *we were apprehended for divers groffe opinions, &c.* Answ. You may see in the last Section but one there was cause enough. And yet for Opinions, let mee tell you that you held, That that Image of God after which man was created was Christ; and that when *Adam* fell Christ was slaine, &c. And as for your opinion concerning Churches, Mr. *Williams* by way of sad complaint told me, you denied

any true Churches of Christ to bee in the world: also Baptisme it selfe, and the Lords Supper, Sabbath, Magistracy as it was an ordinance used amongst Christians. And for the Lords Supper, that it is but a spell, the Ministers Necromancers, and the Communicants drunke with the juice of the grape, &c. And for this last paassage here mentioned, the Reader shall have it at large in a seconde Letter sent by him and his companions to the Government of the *Maffachusets*, concealed by himself in his Book, though he pretendeth to have printed all, &c.

In pag. 53. as he abufeth others, so Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Ward*, in affirming that Mr. *Ward* put himselfe into a paſſion, and stirred up *Carder* to recant, &c. as being no discredit to him, because Mr. *Cotton* ordinarily preached that publickly once a yeare, whiche the next yeare he recants, &c. But Mr. *Ward* being in Towne, a man well knowne and reputed, I shewed him the Booke, and hee gave mee thanks, and returned this anſwer to it *verbatim*: *Samuel Gorton having made mee a Margent note in the 53 page of his Booke, I hold my ſelf called to make this anſwer to it; I cannot call to minde that ever I knew or ſpake with fuch a man as Richard Carder, nor that ever I had any ſpeech with any prisoner at a window, nor ſhould I need it in New-England, where there is liberty enough given for conference with prisoners in more free and convenient places.* This I remember, that one Robert Potter who went in the ſame Ship with mee into New-England, and exprefſing by the way ſo much honeſty and godlineſſe as gained my good opinion and affection towards him: I hearing that hee was affected with Samuel Gortons blaſphemous conceits and carriages, and therefore now impriſoned with him, I went to viſit him, and having free ſpeech with him in the open priſon yard, who ſhedding many teares might happily move me to exprefſe my affection to him, which Samuel Gorton calls paſſion: After ſome debate about his new opinions, I remember I uſed a ſpeech to him to this effect: That hee ſhould doe well and wifely to make fuch acknowledgement of his errores as his conſcience would permit; telling him that Mr. Cotton whom hee had ſo much reverenced in Old England, and New, had given him a godly example in that kinde, by a publick acknowledgement upon a ſolemne Fast day with many teares; That in the time when errores were foſtirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a ſpirituall ſlumber; and had it not been for the watchfulneſſe of his brethren the Elders, &c. hee might have ſlept on; and bleſſed God very cordially for awaking him, and was very thankefull to his Brethren, for their

their watchfulneffe over him, and faithfulneffe towards him: wherein hee honoured God not a little, and greatly rejoyned the hearts of his hearers; and therefore it would bee no shame for him to doe the like.

Concerning Mr. Cotton, were I worthy, I would presume to speake that now of him, which I have said more then many times of him elwhere, That I hold him such an eminent Worthy of Christ, as very few others have attained unto him; and that I hold my selfe not worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace, learning, and industry in the worke of God.

For the Author Samuel Gorton, my self and others farre more judicious, take him to bee a man whose spirit is starke drunke with blasphemies and insolencies, a corrupter of the Truth, and a disturber of the Peace where ever hee comes; I intreat him to read Titus 1. 13. with an humble heart, and that is the greatest harm I wish him.

N. W.

Thus much of the Answere and testimony of that Reverend and Grave Divine, wherein the Reader may see how Mr. Gorton abuseth all men, by casting mire and dirt in the faces of our best deserving Instruments.

In page. 54. he accuseth Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton for stirring up the people against them, &c. Answ. What they preffed in their Sermons, I was not present to heare; but this I can affirme, that from the time of their liberty to my departure from New England, which is not much abovetwo moneths, I have heard many precious godly men affirme, that Sam. Gorton and his company needleflesly in their writings and conference belched out such blasphemy as they thought God was offended with the Country for giving them the liberty they had. And that you may the better see his carriage, (it being the manner of the Countrey to let their prisoners come to heare the Word preached) Mr. Gorton, &c. being there after Mr. Cotton had ended his Sermon on a Sabbath day, asked leave to speake, which Mr. Cotton assenting to, the Governour being present gave him leave, where with a loud voice before the whole Congregation being very great, hee declared, *That the Ministery of the Word, Sacraments, Censures, and other Ordinances of Religion in the hands of Ministers, are like the silver Shrines of Diana in the hands of the craftsmen of Ephesus, &c.* And if the truth of this be questioned, I have testimony upon Oath to make it good.

In pag. 55, 56, 57. many things might bee excepted against, as

in p. 55. his great respect manifested to that government, because derived from the State of *England*, which what it was thou maist largely see in certaine Observations of a godly Divine annexed hereunto, upon his owne two contemptuous and blasphemous Letters, or rather Bookes, wherein are 48 severall aspersions cast on them. Secondly, his appealing, pag. 56. from their Justice when their Charter enjoynes none.

In pag. 56, & 57, the Questions as hee hath set them downe, and the relation about the time allowed him to give his answere; I question whether he have dealt fairely therein, because hee is so often found faulty.

To passe by his Answere, and his large explanation of himselfe, pag. 58. and come to 59. &c. and so the rest of his Answers to the Questions to 64. I answere, though I know not whether hee doe right as hee states things; yet this I know, being attested by reverend perfons, That hee then maintained, *that God made man after his owne image; and that God hath but one image, and that is Christ; and this was the Incarnation of Christ, his exinanition by which we are saved.* And when it was objected, wee are not saved by the incarnation of Christ, but by the death of Christ. *True, faith hee, therefore Adam fell, and so destroyed Gods image, and that was the death of Christ.* When it was objected againe, *Adams fall was not our salvacion, but condemnation, but the death of Christ was our salvacion: and therefore Adams fall could not be the death of Christ.* Hee would by no meanes either revoke or explaine his speech (though much urged thereunto) to agree with the principles of Christian Religion. Being further demanded what hee then thought of that Christ in whom we beleieve, borne of the *Virgin Mary*, and who suffered under *Pontius Pilate?* He answered, *That that Christ was a shadow, and but a resemblance of what is done in mee and every true Christian.* And now judge good Reader, whether this be like what hee mentioneth, or whether it were a trifle not worthy the mentioning: But if he will be so unfaithfull as to omit it, I dare not.

As for his censure, pag. 64, I know not whether it bee right set downe; and so the charge, pag. 65. wherein I dare say he wrongeth the Ministers, in saying; *They stirred up the people to famish them.*

As for his long and tedious Letter to Mr. *Green*, from page 66 to 74. I passe it by, as hee faith Mr. *Green* did. But in 74. hee would make

make it an asperion upon Mr. Endecot for saying that God had stirred them up to goe out of their owne jurisdiction to fetch them from their owne places. Take notice as it is litterally within the line of *Plimouth* Government in their Grant, yet the Indians before mentioned having subjeceted themselves to the *Maffachusets*, the Commissioners for *Plimouth* as well as those for *Coneetacut*, and *New-Haven*, upon the manifold complaints and reasfons before mentioned, being met together at their ordinary time and place appointed and ordered it shoule bee so, as appeares by the copy of their act.

At a meeting of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of *New-England* holden at *Boston* the seventh of September 1643.

*Whereas complaints have beeene made against Samuel Gorton and his company, and some of them weighty and of great consequence; And where- as the said Gorton and the rest have beeene formerly sent for, and now lately by the generall Court of the Maffachusets with a safe conduct both for their comming and returne, that they might give answere and satisfaction wherein they have done wrong. If yet they shall stubbornly refuse, the Commiffioners for the United Colonies think fit that the Magiftrates in the Maffachusets proceed againſt them according to what they ſhall finde juſt; and the rest of the Juridictions will approve and concurre in what ſhall be forwar- rantably done, as if their Commiffioners had beeene preſent at the concluſions, provided that this concluſion doe not prejudice the Government of Plimouth in any right they can juſtly claime unto any Tractor Tracts, &c.*

By which Order it appears they were stirred up and allowed by *Plimouth* it ſelſe as well as the reſt, as afore, to fend for and deale with as indeed the common diſturbers of the peace of the Country.

And whereas in pag. 76. He complaineth of the Governours laſt order for breaking the order of Court, yet take it as he relates it and any understanding man will eaſily ſee on the other ſide the fame leafe that they ſtill were bound to the reſt of the Articles at their confinement, which they were now in a high way to break. And for that little Iſland called *Roade Iſland* they were forced to ſhelter in, take notice 'tis 30 miles about, very fruitfull, and plentifully abounding with all manner of food the Country affordeth, and hath

[Errata: l. 26,  
for with as in-  
deed, read with  
them as in-  
deed.]

hath two Townes besides many great Farmes well stocke in the fame.

In pag. 79. Hee complaines of us for calling them *Gortonians*, and so the Indians calling them *Gortonoges* and not Englishmen, with many affected foppish vanities, phrases and termes I never heard on before, and yet have lived in *New-England* from the beginning, being now above 26 yeares. I wish hee study not, nor affect thefe things, but I much feare it.

In pag. 80. Hee tels a tale of a tub , of *Myantonimo's* being slain as hee marched, which is falfe, for hee was put to death, and in an house, but not upon a march. And is it to bee wondered at, that two English were present to see the manner of their proceeding in so weighty a cause as one Prince putting another his perfidious enemy and captive to death, especially when they were required by the Commissioners to forbear their accustomed torments and to give him honourable buriall, which they did and had thanks returned by the *Nanhiggansets* for thofe particulars. Now if any would know how it was done? It was onely at one blow with an hatchet on the fide of the heade as hee walked easilly in the roome (expecting no leffe) which fully dispatched him at once. And thus mnch for anfwer to this charge.

To let pafse pag. 81. what hee faith about *Myantonimo's* death as being anfwered before, and come to pag. 82.&c. where he mentioneth a consultation held amongst the Indians to put themfelves under the ſubjection of the State of *England*, &c. Anfw. Wee heard indeed of this desperate plot by this unfaithfull people, who had beene in Covenant with the feveral Government long before, but never obſerved any one Article farther then it might further their owne deſigne which was to bee absolute Lords of the Country though with the ruine of us all. And truly had he not published this and the following diſcourſe wee could never have proved it though wee heard of it both from English and Indians. And however *Myantonimo* dyed, yet the plot liveth and continueth to this day. Now though I dare not fay, nor doe I thinkē they joyne with them in aiming at the ruine of all the English, yet they joyne with them in many of their Councells, contrive their sturdy anſwers by writings, and become their Secretaries. Who knowes not that they cannot write? and who knowes not their owne anſwers from thofe that come under your hands? And if the State of *England* (which God

God defend) should establish your and their joyn propositions: then were their plot accomplished: for they might and would worke freely our ruine when as wee might not take up armes against them, but by vertue of warrant or writ from hence procured upon our complaints here, which also would bee six months in ordinary course in procuring and returning, when as in one of these all our throates might bee cut, and those hopefull beginnings so much favoured by our gracious God hitherto in a high way to bee overthrowne. Indeed wee heard further , and for my part I beleeve it, that for the better accomplishment hereof, *Samuel Gorton* and some of his company had perwaded the *Nanohiggansets* to send the King a very large Prefent of Beaver and otter skins which they shoule bring in, and accordingly did: but withall the English reporter faith, that if he could finde favour with the Parliament, then hee would rest there: but if they frowned on him, hee doubted not to but obtaine what was meet from the King. But the times would not suffer him to publish this also, else I fee wee shoule have had all: and this take notice of, That (as the same report testified) at his departure hee wished them by no meanes to warre with us the *United Colonies*, but compound thought it cost them never so deare, but assured them at his returne hee would come strengthened with such authority and so many of his friends as that the *Nanohiggansets* and themselves shoule not need to feare any thing the rest of the English could doe. And that we heard these things from credible testimony and are not faigned by mee, I take the searcher of the heart to witnesse, yea say further that I beleeve them to bee true.

His glorious seeming well-deserving acts follow in pag. 82. &c. to 89. but note that *Weekes*, *Holden*, and *Warner*, (though I least know the last, but am sure for the other two ) were his strong Assistants in his former seditious and mutinous carriages both at *Roade Island* and *Providence*, and therefore fit Commissioners as he terms them, for the accomplishing such a designe. And in pag. 85. note first, their complyance with the *Nanohiggansets*, and his false relation in saying *Myantonimo's* ransome was taken and his life also, which is most falfe, as I made appeare in my former relation. And for the Kings being our and their Judge, as in pag. 86. Know the Indians care no more for the King then they doe for us, whom they would destroy if they could.

And in pag. 88. take notice of the *Gortonists* complying and joyning  
M

ing with them, first, by calling them their *fellow-subjects*, and secondly, speaking of the *Maukquagges* (whom wee ordinarily call *Mo-whakes*) as being the *most fierce and warlike people in the Country, where (saith hee) wee are furnished with 3700 Guns, men expert in the use of them, &c.* Now these indeed as the Switzers serve for hire. And the *Nanohiggansets* being rich have hired them to assist them in their warre. But though the *Gortonists* it feemes are interested with the *Nanohiggansets* in their strength against us, yet are they neither so many men nor have so many arms, but have too many and are very expert in them; being continually supplyed by the French and Dutch, whose aime is chiefly at the trade of Furs, and hereby not onely robbe us of that shold helpe to maintaine our plantations which are growing up into a Nation, but furnish the Indians with all manner of armes, which I would to God, and humbly beseech this High Court of Parliament to take into serious consideration, and treate with their severall Ambassadours about it, as a thing unreasonable in it selfe, and such as hath beene pernicious to French and Dutch, and may bee destructive to them and us, if some due course bee not taken. But to returne from my humble request to the State, to my answere to *Samuel Gorton*; although this be a most unworthy vaunt of his, yet I trust the State will make such use of it as never to suffer this desperate crew to live so neare our malicious enemies the *Nanohiganf*, and that they will not only countenance the sentence of the *Maffachus*. Government against them, but hinder the said *Gortons* returne thither, by forbidding him to set foot on that land of *New-England* he hath filled with so many troubles in all the parts where he hath beene.

In pag. 91. Hee taxeth *Plimouth* to joyne with the *Maffachusets* to frustrate their Government by vertue of their new Charter. 'Tis true, we would have had the *Maffachusets* to have then fent, and rendered a reaon to the State of their proceedings, knowing as before that Mr. *Gortons* journey was for evill and not for good: but they being then taken up with more weighty concernments neglected it: but *Plimouth* did then petition the right honourable *Robert Earle of Warwick* the Governour in chiefe of the English plantations in *America* and the rest of that honourable Committee joyned in Commission with him, that wee might enjoy our ancient limits of Government granted in our letters Patent, and withall shewed that their Charter for the limits of it now granted, was contained within

S.G.that Preached against Magistracy,accepts it in his person. 83

within our line of Government: and trust I shall now receive answer. Tis true also that we sent Mr. John Brown furnished with these following instruction to signifie to all that were interessed in that new erected Government as followeth by Commission given at New-Plimouth, Nov. 8. 1644.

1. That a great part of their supposed Government is within the line of the Government of New-Plimouth.

2. That wee affuredly knew that this ever to bee honoured House of Parliament would not, nor will when they shall know of it, take from us the most ancient Plantation, any part of the line of our Government formerly granted; it being contrary to their Principles.

3. To forbid them and all and every of them to exercise any authority or power of Government within the limits of our Letters Patents.

4. To certifie them that Cowecset is not onely within the faid limits, but that the Sachim thereof and his sonnes have taken protection of this our Government. And therefore to forbid them to enter upon any part of his or their lands without due order and leave from our Government.

Now these instructions were signed by the Governour. And Mr. Browne going to Roade Island for this end came very seafonable when a publicke meeting was appointed for your new Magistrates and people,(but as he reported,for a most vile end; viz.to take into consideration a new dispossall of the lands formerly given out, as if some had too much andsome too little,& for now respect of persons, and their estates was to bee laid aside.) And here note that Mr. Coddington, Mr. Briuton, &c. that we at Plimouth had speciall eye to, when wee commended them thither, abhorred their course, abstained from their meetings, looked upon themselves as persons in great danger, and bemoaned their condition to divers their friends, being now overwhelmed with cares and feares what would bee the issue of things. And note that now also Mr. Samuel Gorton that before had suffered so much by authority for his evill doing, and was come to deny it and preach against it , being now by these Inhabitants called to place, accepts it, and became a Magistrate amongst them, &c. But whereas hee intimates, as if Mr. Browne had onely done his meffage (according to his instructions) in a private way from houfe to houfe, therein hee wrongs him: for hee did it publickly in the place of their Asssembly, who were so daunted at it as they brake up, and did no act intended for that day , as hee related it: but some would have had him imprisioned,others punished,

[Errata: l. 24,  
for & put (.)]

others sent to the Dutch and so for England. Yea Mr. Gorton himselfe told Mr. Brownes sonne that his father had done that which he deserved to die for, and were hee in any other place it would cost him his life. So fit for Government were these men, as to judge a peaceable claime of right without any further disturbance or stirre made should thus deserve. Neither indeed have wee further stirred then as before, ever refolviing to rest in the determination of the right honourable the Governoour in chiefe and the rest of his honourable Assitants of that Committee bee trusted with the affaires of the Forraigne English Plantations, assuring our selvess what ever might proceed either from misinformation or want of due knowledge what was formerly done, would bee rectified upon the first information and complaint made: Such were our thoughts of them, and the justice wee expected, and still hope to receive from them. And thus much for answere to that complaint.

In pag. 92. He layeth another grosse aspersion upon us, in saying, *There was distance and alienation of affection betweene Plimouth and the Maffachusets at their first comming, each thinking I am holier then thou: and as if wee were now united on purpose to scatter them.* The world knowes this to bee most false. Never people agreed better, maintaining both religious and civill Communion with each other, and helping and being helpfull one to another upon all occasions: which is so well knowne, as if hee had not more then ordinary boldnesse hee durst not affirme it. Nor came the men of *Plimouth* from *Amfierdam* as hee reporteth but *Leyden*, a people that many of that Church of *Amfierdam* would hardly allow communion withall: but his pen is no flaunder, at least will not bee where this answere shall follow it. And for his relation of the manner of the Indians mourning for their Prince his death; Truely had hee dyed a naturall death, 'tis their manner not onely so to mourne for their great *Sachims* which are Princes, but for ordinary men, women and children as hee well knoweth or might know.

In pag. 93. He fnerther complaines of *Plimouth* and *Maffachusets* for offering to goe out against the *Nanohiggansets* to cut them off by the fword. And so complaines also of Captaine Standish &c. Answ. I told you before how the Commissioners for the United Colonies meeting at *Hartford* by course, whose meeting always begins the first Thursday in *Septemb.* fent for both the *Nanohiggansets* and *Uncus*, who appeared, and a league agreed on: but the *Nanohiggansets*

ganfets broke againe, and warred upon *Uncus* needlefslly. The United Colonies admonished them againe and againe: and after no admonition nor perfwasions would serve, wee were then forced to call the Commissioners together at an extraordinary feason on purpose, who finding it meet to take up Armes in the behalfe of *Vncus* our Confederate, whom by the agreement of the *Nanohigganfets* fundry times, at divers meetings wee were bound, and it was made lawfull to doe. Hereupon the Commissioners agreeing as before, sent out their Warrants to their severall and speciall Governments, and accordingly Forces were raised at a dayes warning. But before this, in stead of hearkening to righteous Counfell, they threatened also the English, saying, they would make heapes of our dead bodies and cattle, as high as their houses, burne our habitations, make spoile of our goods, and used our Meffengers very discurteoufly, &c. And for Captaine *Standish*, this I heard him relate, that being at the place of Rendezvouze, before the *Maffachufets* Forces came, oberving that some of the Inhabitants of *Providence* received the *Indians* into their houfes familiarly, who had put themselves alfo into a posture of Armes, and the place within a mile of *Secunck* or *Rhehoboth* where Captaine *Standish* lay; hee sent to *Providence*, and required them to lay aside their neutrality, and either declare themselves on the one fide or other: For the warre being once begun, hee would not beare with their carriage in entertaining, furnishing, and relieving the common enemy, but would difarm them, &c. And whether necessity put him not upon this course, or no, let the Reader judge.

And for the five hundred pound, 'tis true their hearts fayled to see *Plymouth* Forces appeare, and *Maffachuf.* both Horfe and Foot upon their march on the one fide their Countrey, under Mr. *Edw. Gibbons* who was chofen Generall of the United Colonies, with the help of *Woofamequin*, whose constancy to *Plymouth* is welknown, and *Pumham* and *Socononoco* with reference to *Maffachufets* with all their men, attending the English word of command. And on the other fide their Countrey the forces of *Coneetacut* and *Newhaven*, with all the strength of *Uncus*, waiting but for the word from the Commissioners to fall on. Now I say they were daunted especially because it came fo suddenly upon them, wanting Mr. *Gorton* and his friends who were not yet come; Hereupon they relolved to go to the

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Commissioners to *Maffachuf.* and compound, and did signe new Articles to observe the peace not onely with the United Colonies but with *Uncus*, *Woofamequin*, *Pumham*, and *Socononoco*, and other our Confederates, including all the English in the land, to make satisfaction for wrongs to *Vncus*, and to pay five hundred pounds to the united Colonies, for the charge they put us to, which indeed would not neare make it good, if they had paid it: but as at other times, so now, notwithstanding their Hostages, they abused us grofly, firt fending false perfons; fecondly, breaking all other their Covenants, and came at last to a refolution , they would rather give the money (which is a Beade, as current as coin in all that part of *America*, of their owne making) to the *Mowhakes* at once, to cut us off, then to pay it according to Covenant.

And thus contrary to my refolution, I fee a neceffity of more large answers then I intended; and indeed otherwife I should speak riddles, and not satisfie the Reader. Although were it an Hiftory, I have many remarkable paſſages which here for brevity fake I muſt omit. And if any think wee doe needleſly ingage in the troubles betweene the *Indians*? 1. Let them know if wee ſhould not here and there keepe correſpondency with ſome of them, they would foone joyne all together againſt us. 2. The quarrell betweene *Uncus* and *Nanohigganſet*, arose upon his cleaving to us: For the great *Sachim Myantonimo* would have marryed *Uncus* daughter, and ſince *Peffachus* that ſucceeded him would have marryed *Woofamequin*s daughter, and all in policy to take them off from us; ſo that indeed wee are neceſſitated to it. And 3. we are not out of hope in time to bring them to the knowledge of Jefus Chrift , as will appeare by a fmall Treatife of that kinde. But this one thing I defire the Reader to take notice of, that when that great Prince *Myantonimo* hee ſo much admires, had offered violence to *Woofamequin*(who was under the protection of *Plymouth*) and miſſing his perfon, returned onely with the plunder of his goods: Upon *Woofamequin*s complaint to *Plymouth*, that Government alone, it being before the Union, ſent Captain *Standish* with a few men, not above 20. who ſent a meſſage over the Bay of Salt water which parts *Woofamequin* from them, Either to make reſtitution of his goods ſo injuriously taken, or elſe to expect him to fetch them with a vengeance to their coſt. Hereupon they ſent over every particular that could bee demanded, even to a wooden dish, and falved up all againe; but this was before any

any malignant English fate down so neare them, and held counsell with them, before they had violated our persons to them, reported us to bee base and low, out of favour with the King and State, &c. things very unworthy, abominable to be named, but that in defending the abused Governments of the Country, I am forced to dang such strokes at these proud and turbulent enemies of the Countrey.

Next in pag. 94. that hee relateth of Mr. *Williams*; viz, the messengers taking him with them that were sent to the *Nanohigganfets*, in that troublesome time, viz, being one cast out of the Church (Mr. *Cotton* shoule preach) *It was all one to take counsell of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die.* Upon which Mr. *Wilbour* one of the messengers was ready to die, faith hee, for feare hee shoule have been hanged. This I cannot beleieve for these two Reasons: 1. Because all men that know Mr. *Cotton*, know his moderation, wisdome and piety to bee such, as such an expreſſion was not like to drop from him. 2. The strictest Government in *New-Engl.* that I know, takes no advantage in the law at a mans perfon for being excommunicated; infomuch as if he have an office, he holds it nevertheleſſe, and this, I know practised, and therefore his relation unlike. But that the Messengers were directed to another for their interpreter I know, and that ſome took offence at their practise I know alſo, but upon different grounds, which I forbear to mention, being now to anſwer Mr. *Corton*, and not Mr. *Williams*.

In pag. 93. which is the last page in his Booke that I ſhall need to make anſwer to, and the thing hee there brings againſt us is an anſwer to a doctrine one of their wives ſhould heare delivered at *Mafſachufets* when ſhee came to visit them, from *Matth. 24. 29.* and alſuding to *Hebr. 12. 26, 27.* briefly this doctrine there delivered, ſhould make the doctrine of the Apostles and the Churches in their times to bee but darkneſſe. That the Miniftry of the Apostles was and ſhould be removed, &c. which I deſire the Reader to turne to; but bee affuſed through Gods mercy, by meanes of the late Bishop of *Canterburies* perſecutions of the godly here, wee are ſo excellently furnished with ſhining Lights of the Gofpel, as no ſuch blaſphemous trash as this could bee there delivered, and ſo many able hearers, as if it ſhould have been delivered by any, the Lord with-drawing his preſence from him, it would have been forthwith excepted againſt and published to the world. But I am conſiſtent if ſuch a thing were there heard, it was either from one of their owne company,

pany, or disciples made by them. And therefore I will passe by the answere also, as not concerning any difference between him and us, and so the rest of his writings to that end, and could wish that *Narcissus*-like hee were not so much in love with his owne shadow, lest it prove his ruine; there needing no other matter against him then his owne words and writings to render him odious to the State here, as well as to *New-England* from whence he came.

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AND now that I have finished what I conceive necessary concerning Mr. *Gortons* scandalous and flanderous Bookes, let me briefly answer some objections that I often meet withall against the Country of *New-England*. The first that I meet with is, concerning the rise and foundation of our *New-England* Plantations; It being alledged (though upon a great mistake by a late Writer) that division or disagreement in the Church of *Leyden*, was the occasion, nay cause of the first Plantation in *New-England*; for faith the Author, or to this effect, when they could no longer agree together, the one part went to *New-England*, and began the Plantation at *Plymouth*, which he makes the mother, as it were, of the rest of the Churches, as if the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations had been laid upon division or separation, then which nothing is moreuntrue: For I perswade my selfe, never people upon earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly then wee the Church at *Leyden* did, not rashly in a distracted humour, but upon jopty and serious deliberation, often seeking the minde of God by fasting and prayer, whose gracious presence we not onely found with us, but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adverfaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of our selves, to see such effects of our prayers and teares before our pilgrimage here bee ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it.

'Tis true, that that poor perfecuted flock of Christ, by the malice and power of the late Hierarchy were driven to *Leyden* in *Holland*, there to beare witnesse in their practise to the Kingly Office of Christ Jesus in his Church: and there lived together ten yeares under the United States, with much peace and liberty: But our Reverend Pastor Mr. *John Robinson* of late memory, and our grave Elder Mr. *William Brewster*, (now both at rest with the Lord) con-

fidering

considering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the Country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for *England*; how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of *England*; how like wee were to lose our language, and our name of English; how little good wee did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as wee our selves had received, &c. They, I say, out of their Christian care of the flock of Christ committed to them conceived, if God would bee pleased to discover some place unto us ( though in *America*) and give us so much favour with the King and State of *England*, as to have their protection there, where wee might enjoy the like liberty, and where the Lord favouring our endeavours by his blessing, wee might exemplarily shew our tender Country-men by our example (no lesse burthened then our selves) where they might live, and comfortably subsist and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from Antichristian bondage, keep their names and Nation, and not only bee a meanes to enlarge the Dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the Natives whither hee should bring us, &c. Hereby in their grave Wifdomes they thought wee might more glorifie God, doe more good to our Countrey, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labours, then ever wee could doe in *Holland* where we were.

Now these their private thoughts upon mature deliberation they imparted to the Brethren of the Congregation, which after much private discussion came to publike agitation, till at the length the Lord was solemnly sought in the Congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us, who moving our hearts more and more to the worke, wee sent some of good abilities over into *England* to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might finde with the King. These also found God going along with them, and got Sir *Edwin Sands* a religious Gentleman then living, to stirre in it, who procured Sir *Robert Nawton* then principall Secretary of State to King *James* of famous memory, to move his Majestie by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the Government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of Conscience under his gracious protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesties Dominions,

ons, and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due meanes. This his Majestie said was a good and honest motion , and asking what profits might arise in the part wee intended (for our eye was upon the most Northern parts of *Virginia*) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which hee replied with his ordinary asseveration, *So God have my Soule 'tis an honest Trade* , 'twas the *Apostles owne calling* , &c. But afterwards he told Sir *Robert Nawnton*, (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *London*, &c. Whereupon wee were advised to perfist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle our selves with them which caused our Agents to repair to the *Virginia Company*, who in their Court demanded our ends of going; which being related , they said the thing was of God, and granted a large Patent, and one of them lent us 300 l. gratis for three yeares, which was repaid.

Our Agents returning, wee further sought the Lord by a publicque and solemn Fast, for his gracious guidance. And hereupon wee came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the Church to goe at first, and the other to stay, *viz.* the youngest and strongest part to goe. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the Pastor to goe with them; if not, the Elder onely. Fourthly, if the Lord should frowne upon our proceedings, then those that went to returne, and the Brethren that remained still there, to assit and bee helpfull to them, but if God should bee pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to helpe over such as were poore and ancient, and willing to come; these things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the Pastor with them for the preffent , but all intended (except a very few, who had rather wee would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. *Brewster* their Elder, refolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference of number was not great;) And when the Ship was ready to carry us away, the Brethren that stayed having againe solemnly sought the Lord with us, and for us, and we further engaging our selves mutually as before; they, I say, that stayed at *Leyden* feasted us that were to goe at our Pastors house being large, where wee refreshed our selves after our teares, with singing of *Psalmes* , making joyfull melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the Congregation very expert in Musick; and indeed it was the

the sweeteft melody that ever mine eares heard. After this they accompanied us to *Delphs Haven*, where wee were to imbarque, and there feasted us againe; and after prayer performed by our Pastor, where a flood of teares was poured out, they accompanied us to the Ship, but were not able to speake one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part: but wee onely going aboard (the Ship lying to the Key) and ready to fet fayle, the winde being faire) wee gave them a volley of small shot, and three pecces of Ordinance, and fo lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his preſence with us in the midſt of our manifold ftraits hee carryed us thoroſſ. And if any doubt this relation, the *Dutch*, as I heare, at *DelphsHaven* preſerve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

But falling with *Cape Cod* which is in *New-England*, and standing to the Southward for the place wee intended, wee met with many dangers, and the Mariners put back into the Harbour of the *Cape*, which was the 11. of *November*, 1620. where confidering Winter was come, the Seas dangerous, the feaſon cold, the winds high, and being well furnished for a Plantation, we entered upon diſcovery, and fetled at *Plymouth*, where God being pleased to preſerve and enable us, wee that went, were at a Thouſand pounds charge in fending for our Brethren that were behinde, and in providing there for them till they could reap a crop of their owne labours. And fo good Reader, I have given thee a true and faithfull account, though very briefe, of our proceedings, wherein thou ſeeſt how a late Writer, and thoſe that informed him, have wronged our enterprife. And truly what I have written, is far ſhort of what it was, omitting for brevity fake many circumſtances, as the large offers the *Dutch* offered us, either to have removed into *Zealand* and there lived with them: or if we would go on fuch adventures, to goe under them to *Hudſons River* (where they have ſince a great plantation, &c.) and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle, &c. Alſo the English Merchants that joyned with us in this expedition, whom wee ſince bought out, which is fitter for an History, then an anſwer to ſuch an Objection, (& I truſt will be accomplished in good time.) By all which the Reader may fee there was no breach between us that went, and the brethren that stayed, but fuch love as indeed isfeldomē found on earth.

And for the many plantations that come over to us upon notice of Gods blessing upon us, whereas 'tis falsly said, they tooke *Plimouth* for their president as fast as they came. 'Tis true I confesse that some of the chiefe of them advized with us ( comming over to be freed from the burthensome ceremonies then imposed in England ) how they should doe to fall upon a right platforme of worship, and desired to that end since God had honoured us to lay the foundation of a Common-weale, and to settle a Church in it, to shew them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found upon due search it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly shewed them the Primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the severall Churches by the said Apostles together with the Commandements of Christ the Lord in the Gospell, and other our warrants for every particular wee did from the booke of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entred into Covenant with God and one with another to walke in all his wayes revealed, or as they should bee made knowne unto them, and to worship him according to his will revealed in his written word onely, &c. So that here also thou maist see they set not the Church at *Plimouth* before them for example, but the Primitive Churches were and are their and our mutuall patternes and examples, which are onely worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them which were sent immediately by Christ himselfe and enabled and guided by the unerring Spirit of God. And truly this is a patterne fit to bee followed of all that feare God, and no man or men to bee followed further then they follow Christ and them.

Having thus briefly shewed that the foundation of our *New-England* Plantations was not laid upon Schisme, division, or Separation, but upon love, peace, and holiness; yea, such love and mutuall care of the Church of *Leyden* for the spreading of the Gospel, the welfare of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is feldome found on earth: And having shewed also that the Primitive Churches are the onely pattern which the Churches of Christ in *New-England* have in their eye, not following *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, *Ainsworth*, *Robinson*, *Amies*, or any other, further then they follow Christ and his Apostles; I am earnestly requested to cleare up another grosse mistake which caused many, and still doth, to

to judge the harder of *New-England*, and the Churches there , be-cause (say they) *The Church of Plymouth which went first from Leyden, were Schismatics, Brownists, rigid Separatists, &c. having Mr. Robinson for their Pastor, who made, and to the last professed separation from other the Churches of Christ, &c. And the rest of the Churches in New-England holding communion with that Church, are to bee reputed such as they are.*

For answier to this asperion, First, he that knew Mr. Robinson, either by his Doctrine daily taught, or hath read his Apology published not long before his death, or knew the practise of that Church of Christ under his government, or was acquainted with the wholesome counsell he gave that part of the Church which went for *New-England* at their departure and afterward, might easily reslove the doubt, and take off the asperion.

For his Doctrine, I living three yeares under his Ministery, before we began the worke of Plantation in *New-England*; It was alwayes against separation from any the Churches of Christ, professing and holding communion both with the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, yea, tendering it to the *Scots* also, as I shall make appeare more particularly anon. Ever holding forth how wary perfons ought to bee in separating from a Church, and that till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, onely to beare witnesse against the corruption that was in it. But if any object, he separated from the Church of *England*, and wrote largely against it; I acknowledge hee wrote largely against it, but yet let me tell you, hee allowed hearing the godly Ministers preach and pray in the publick Asssemblies; yea, hee allowed private communion not onely with them , but all that were faithfull in Christ Jesus in the Kingdome and elsewhere upon all occasions; yea, honored them for the power of godlineffe above all other the professors of Religion in the world, nay, I may truly say, his spirit cleaved unto them, being so well acquainted with the integrity of their hearts, and care to walke blameleffe in their lives, which was no small motive to him to perfwade us to remove from *Holland*, where wee might probably not onely continue *Engligh*, but have and maintain such sweet communion with the godly of that Nation, as through Gods great mercy we enjoy this day.

'Tis true, I confesse he was more rigid in his course and way at first, then towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union

so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schism and division, there was nothing in the world more hatefull to him: But for the government of the Church of *England*, as it was in the Episcopall way, the Liturgy and stinted prayers of the Church then; yea, the constitution of it as Nationall, and so consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy with the worthy receivers of the Lords Supper, these things were never approved of him, but witnessed against to his death, and are by the Church over which he was to this day. And if the Lord would be pleased to stir up the hearts of those, in whom (under him) the power of Reformation lies, to reform that abuse, that a distinction might once be put between the precious and the vile, particular Churches might be gathered by the powerfull preaching of the Word, those onely admitted into communion, whose hearts the Lord persuades to submit unto the Iron rod of the Gofpel; O how sweet then would the communion of the Churches be! How thorow the Reformation! How easie would the differences be reconciled between the Presbyterian and Independent way! How would the God of peace which commandeth love and good agreement smile upon this Nation! How would the subtle underminers of it be disappointed, and the faithfull provoked to sing songs of praise and thanksgiving! Nay, how would the God of order be glorified in such orderly walking of the Saints! And as they have fought together for the liberties of the Kingdome, Ecclesiasticall and Civill; so may they joyn together in the preservation of them (which otherwise, 'tis to be feared will not long continue) and in the praises of our God who hath been so good to his poore distressed ones, whom he hath delivered, and whom he will deliver out of all their troubles. But I have made too great a digression, and must return.

In the next place I should speak of Mr. Robinfsons Apology, where in he maketh a briefe defence against many adverfaries, &c. But because it is both in Latine and English, of small price, and easie to bee had, I shall forbear to write of it, and onely refer the Reader to it, for the differences between his congregation, and other the Reformed Churches.

The next thing I would have the Reader take notice of, is, that however the church of *Leyden* differed in some particulars, yet made no Schisme or separation from the Reformed Churches, but held communion with them occasionally: For we ever placed a large difference

rence between those that grounded their practise upon the Word of God(tho differing from us in the exposition or understanding ofit) and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichristian opposition to it, and perfecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did, who would not in deed and truth(whatever their pretences were)that Christ should rule over them. But as they often stretched out their hands against the faints; so God hath withered the Arm of their power, thrown them down from their high & lofty seats, and slain the chiefe of their persons, as well as the Hierarchy, that he might become an example to all those that rise against God in his Sabbath, in the preaching of his Word, in his Saints,in the purity of his Ordinances. And I heartily desire that others may heare and feare withall.

As for the *Dutch*, it was usuall for our Members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to *London*, to communicate with them, as one *John Jenny* a Brewer long did, his wife and family, &c. and without any offence to the Church: So also for any that had occasion to travell into any other part of the Netherlands they daily did the like: And our Pastor Mr. *Robinson* in the time when Arminianisme prevailed so much, at the request of the most Orthodox Divines, as *Poliander, Festus, Homlius, &c.* disputed daily against *Episcopius*(in the Academy, at *Leyden*) and others the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect amongst them, as any of their own Divines; Insomuch as when God took him away from them and us by death, the University, and Ministers of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities; bewayling the great losse that not onely that particular Church had, whereof he was Pastor; but some of the chief of them fadly affirmed, that all the Churches of Christ sustained a losse by the death of that worthy Instrument of the Gospel. I could instance also divers of their members that understood the English tongue, and betook themselves to the communion of our Church, went with us to *New-England*, as *Godbert Godbertson, &c.* Yea, at this very instant, another called *Moses Symonson*, because a child of one that was in communion with the *Dutch Church* at *Leyden*, is admitted into Church-fellowship at *Plymouth* in *New-England*, and his children also to Baptism, as wel as our own, and other *Dutch* also in communion at *Salem, &c.*

And for the *French Churches* that we held, and do hold communion

nion with them, take notice of our practise at *Leyden*, viz. that one *Samuel Terry* was received from the *French Church* there, into communion with us; also the wife of *Francis Cooke* being a *Walloone*, holds communion with the *Church at Plymouth*, as she came from the *French*, to this day, by vertue of communion of Churches; There is alsoone *Philip Delanoy* born of *French* parents,came to us from *Leyden* to *New-Plymouth*, who comming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with us, & proving himself to be come of such parents as were in ful communion with the *French Churches*, was here upon admitted by the *Church of Plymouth*; and after upon his removal of habitation to *Duxburrow* where *M. Ralph Partridge* is Pastor of the *Church*; and upon Letters of recommendation from the *Church at Plymouth*, hee was also admitted into fellowship with the *Church at Duxburrow*, being fix miles distant from *Plymouth*; and so I dare say, if his occasions lead him, may from *Church* to church throughout *New-England*. For the truth is, the *Dutch* and *French Churches* either of them being a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion, and not Nationall Churches, nay, so far from it, as I verily beleeve the sixt person is not of the *Church*, the difference is so small (if moderately pondered, between them and us)as we dare not for the world deny communion with them.

And for the *Church of Scotland*, however wee have had least occasion offered to hold communion with them; yet thus much I can and doe affirme, that a godly Divine comming over to *Leyden* in *Holland*, where a Booke was printed, *Anno 1619.* as I take it, shewing the nullity of *Perth* Affembled, whom we judged to bee the Author of it, and hidden in *Holland* for a seafon to avoid the rage of those evill times (whose name I have forgotten;) This man being very conversant with our Pastor Mr. *Robinson*, and using to come to hear him on the Sabbath, after Sermon ended, the *Church* being to partake in the Lords Supper, this Minister stood up and desired hee might, without offence, stay and see the manner of his administration, and our participation in that Ordinance; To which our Pastor answerd in these very words, or to this effect, *Reverend Sir, you may not onely stay to behold us, but partake with us, if you please, for wee acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of Christ, &c.* The Minister also replyed to this purpose, if not also in the same words; *That for his part hee could comfortably partake with the Church, and willingly would, but that it is poffible some of his brethren of Scotland might*

might take offence at his act; which he desired to avoid in regard of the opinion the English Churches which they held communion withall had of us: However he rendered thanks to Mr. *Robinfon*, and defir'd in that respect to be onely a spectator of us. These things I was earnestly requested to publish to the world by some of the godly Presbyterian party, who apprehend the world to bee ignorant of our proceedings, conceiving in charity that if they had been knowne, some late Writers and Preachers would never have written and spoke of us as they did, and still doe as they have occasion: But what they ignorantly judge, write, or speak of us, I trust the Lord in mercy wil passe by.

In the next place, for the wholsome counsell Mr. *Robinfon* gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great worke of Plantation in *New-England*, amongst other wholsome Instructions and Exhortations , hee used these expreſſions, or to the fame purpose; We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he ſhould live to fee our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his bleffed Angels, to follow him no further then he followed Christ. And if God ſhould reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Miniftry: For he was verely confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occation alſo miferably to bewaile the ſtate and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in Religion , and would goe no further then the iſtruments of their Reformation: As for example, the *Lutherans* they could not be drawne to goe beyond what *Luther* faw, for whateuer part of Gods will he had further imparted and revealed to *Calvin*, they will rather die then embrace it. And fo alſo, faith he, you fee the *Calvinifts*, they ſtick where he left them: A mifery much to bee lamented; For though they were precious ſhining lights in their times , yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, faith hee , they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here alſo he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant(at leaſt that part of it)whereby wee promife and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatſoever light or truth ſhall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what

we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, faith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkneſſe, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes to avoid and shake off the name of *Brownift*, being a meer nick-name and brand to make Religion odious, and the profeffors of it to the Christian world; and to that end, faid hee, I should be glad if ſome godly Minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my comming; For, faid hee, there will bee no difference between the uncomformable Ministers and you , when they come to the practife of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome: And ſo advised us by all meanes to endeavour to cloſe with the godly party of the Kingdome of *England*,and rather to ſtudy union then diuiſion; viz. how neare we might poſſibly, without ſin cloſe with them, then in the leaſt meaſure to affect diuiſion or ſeparation from them. And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher, faith hee, for that flock that hath two ſhepheards is not indangered, but ſecured by it. Many other things there were of great and weighty confeſſion which he commended to us, but theſe things I thought good to relate, at the requeſt of ſome well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (ſo diſtracted at preſent about the ſettling of Church-government in the Kingdom of *England*) that ſo both ſides may truly fee what this poor deſpifed Church of Chriſt now at *New-Plymouth* in *New-England*,but formerly at *Leyden* in *Holland*, was and is; how far they were and ſtill are from ſeparation from the Churches of *Chriſt*, eſpecially thoſe that are Reformed.

'Tis true, we profeffe and deſire to practife a ſeparation from the world,& the works of the world, which are works of the flesh, ſuch as the Apostle ſpeaketh of, *Ephes.5.19,20,21. 1 Cor.6.9,10,11. and Ephes.2. 11,12.* And as the Churches of Chriſt are all Saints by calling, ſo we deſire to fee the grace of God ſhining forth, (at leaſt feemingly, leaving ſecret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, & to keep off ſuch as openly wallow in the mire of their fins, that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the Saints may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joyning to us formerly,either when we lived at *Leyden* in *Holland*,or ſince we came to *New-England*, have with the maniſtation of their faith

faith and profession of holinesse held forth therewith separation from the Church of *England*, I have divers times, both in the one place, and the other, heard either *Mr. Robinson* our Pastor, or *Mr. Brewster* our Elder strop them forthwith, shewing them that wee required no such things at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the feare of God, and submision to every Ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of *England* to themselves, and to the Lord before whom they should stand or fall, and to whom wee ought to pray to reforme what was amisse amongst them. Now this Reformation we have lived to see performed and brought about by the mighty power of God, this day in a good measure, and I hope the Lord Jesus will perfect his work of Reformation, till all be according to the good pleasure of his will. By all which I desire the Reader to take notice of our former and prefent practise notwithstanding all the injurious and scandalous taunting reports are passed on us. And if these things will not satisfie, but wee must still suffer reproach, and others for our fakes, because they and wee thus walke, our practise being for ought wee know, wholly grounded on the written Word, without any addition or humane invention knowne to us, taking our patterne from the Primitive Churches, as they were regulated by the blessed Apostles in their owne dayes, who were taught and instructed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and had the unerring and all-knowing Spirit of God to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard: I say, if wee must still suffer such reproach, notwithstanding our charity towards them who will not be in charity with us; Gods will be done.

The next asperion cast upon us, is, that we will not suffer any that differ from us never so little to reside or cohabit with us; no not the Presbyterian Government which differeth so little from us. To which I answere, our practise witnesseth the contrary. For 'tis well knowne that *Mr. Parker* and *Mr. Noyce* who are Ministers of the Church at *Newberry* are in that way and so knowne so farre as a single Congregation can bee exercised in it; yet never had the least molestation or disturbance, and have and finde as good respect from Magistrates and people as other Elders in the Congregational or Primitive way. 'Tis knowne also that *Mr. Hubbard* the Minister at *Hengam* hath declared himselfe for that way: nay which is more then ever I heard of the other two, hee refuseth to

baptzie no children that are tended to him (although this liberty stands not upon a Presbyterian bottome) and yet the Civill State never molefted him for it: onely comming to a Synod held in the Country the laft yeare, which the Magistrates called, requesting the Churches to fend their Elders and fuch other as might bee able to hold forth the light of God from his written word in case of fome doubts which did arife in the Country: I fay hee comming the laft sitting of the Affembly which was adjourned to the eighth of June next, was in all meekeffe and love requested to bee prefent and hold forth his light hee went by in baptizing all that were brought to him, hereby waving the practise of the Churches, which he promising to take into confideration they refed in his anfwer. So also 'tis wel known, that before these unhappy troubles arose in *England* and *Scotland*, there were divers Gentlemen of *Scotland* that groaned under the heavy preffaries of thofe times, wrote to *New-England* to know whether they might freely be suffered to exercise their Prefbyteriall government amongst us. And it was anfwered affirmatively they might: and they fending over a Gentleman to take a view of fome fit place; A River called *Meromeck* neare *Ipswich* and *Newberry* aforefaid, was shewed their Agent, which he well liked, and where wee have since four townes settled, and more may bee for ought I know, fo that there they might have had a compleate Presbytery and whither they intended to have come: but meeting with manifold crosses being halfe Seas thorow they gave over their intendments, and as I have heard there were many of the Gentlemen that firſt fell upon the late Covenant in *Scotland*: by all which will eaſily appeare how wee are here wronged by many; and the harder meaſure as wee heare impoſed upon our brethren for our fakes, nay pretending our example for their preſident. And laſt of all, not long before I came away certaine discontented perſons in open Court of the *Maffachufets*, demanding that liberty, it was freely and as openly tended to them; shewing their former practices by mee mentioned: but willed not to expect that wee ſhould provide them Minifters &c. for the fame, but getting fuch themſelves they might exercife the Presbyterian Government at their libertie, walking peaceably towards us as wee trusted we ſhould doe towards them. So that if our brethren here ſhall bee reſtrained they walking peaceably, the example muſt not be taken from us, but arife from fome other principle.

But

But it will not bee objected though you deale thus with the Presbyterian way, yet you have a fevere law against Anabaptists, yea one was whipt at *Maffachufets* for his Religion? and your law banisheth them? *Answ.* 'Tis true, the *Maffachufets* Governement have such a law as to banish, but not to whip in that kinde. And certaine men desiring some mitigation of it; It was answereed in my hearing. 'Tis true, we have a fevere law, but wee never did or will execute the rigour of it upon any, and have men living amongst us, nay some in our Churches of that judgement, and as long as they carry themselves peaceably as hitherto they doe, wee will leave them to God, our selves having performed the duty of brethren to them. And whereas there was one whipt amongst us; 'tis true wee knew his judgement what it was: but had hee not carried himselfe so contemptuously towards the Authority God hath betrusted us with in an high exemplary meafure, wee had never so censured him: and therefore he may thank himself who suffered as an evill doer in that respect. But the reason wherefore wee are loath either to repeale or alter the law, is, Because wee would have it remaine in force to beare witnesse against their judgement and practise which we conceive them to bee erroneous.

And yet nevertheless said the Governour to thofe preferred the request, you may tel our friends in *England*, whither yee arefome of you going, since the motion proceedeth from such as wee know move it in love to us, wee will serioufly take it into consideration at our next Generall Court. So that thou maist perceive good Reader that the worſt is ſpoken of things in that kinde.

Furthermore in the Government of *Plimouth*, to our great grieve, not onely the Pastor of a Congregation waveth the administration of baptism to Infants, but divers of his Congregation are fallen with him, and yet all the meanes the civill power hath taken againſt him and them, is to stirre up our Elders to give meeting and fee if by godly conference they may bee able to convince and reclaime him, as in mercy once before they had done by Gods bleſſing upon their labours. Only at the forefaid Synod, two were ordered to writeto him in the name of the Assembly, and to request his preſence at their next meeting aforefaid to hold forth his light hee goeth by in waving the practise of the Churches; with promife if it be light, to walke by it: but if it appeare otherwife, then they truſt hee will returne againe to the unity of practice with them. And for the o-

ther two Governments of *Coneetacut* and *Newhaven*, if either have any law in force agaist them, or so much as need of a law in that kinde, 'tis more then I have heard on.

For our parts(I mean the Churches of *New-Engl.*) we are confident through Gods mercy, the way of God in which we walke, and according to which wee perform our Worship and service to Him, concurreth with thoſe Rules our bleſſed ſaviour hath left upon record by the Evangelifts and Apoftles, and is agreeable with the praćtice of thoſe Primitive Churches mentioned in the *Act*s, and regulated by the fame Apoftles, as appeareth not onely in that Evangelicall Hiftory, but in their Epiftles to the feverall Churches there mentioned; yet nevtheleſſe if any thorow tenderneſſe of Conſcience be otherwife minded, to ſuſh wee never turn a deafe eare, nor become rigorous, though we have the ſtreame of Authority on our ſides. Nay, if in the uſe of all means we cannot reclaim them, knowing the wiſdomethat is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſie, and the fruit of righteouſneſſe is ſowne in peace, of them that make peace, according to *James* 3.17,18. And if any differing from us bee anſwerable to this Rule in their lives and conuerſations, we do not exercife the Civill fword againſt them. But for ſuſh as *Gorton* and his company, whose wiſdome feems not to be from above, as appeareth in that it is full of enuying, ſtrife, conuſion, Jam. 3.15, 16. being therein ſuſh as the Apoftle *Jude* ſpeaks on, v. 8. viz. earthly, ſenſuall, devillifh; who v.16. despife dominion, and ſpeak evillof dignities. These v.12,13. are murmurers, complayners, walkers after their own luſts, and their mouth ſpeaketh great fwelling words, being clouds without water, carried about of winds, trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the ſea, foaming out their owne shame, wandring ſtarres, to whom (without repentaunce, which I much deſire to fee, or hear of in him, if it may ſtand with the will of God) is reſerved the blackneſſe of darkneſſe for ever. Theſe I ſay are to be proceeded with by another rule, and not to bee borne: who ſuffer as evil doers, and are a shame to Religion which they profeffe in word, but deny in their lives and conuerſations. Theſe every tender conſcience abhors, and will iuſtifie and affiſt the higher Powers God hath ordained, againſt ſuſh carnall Gofpellers, who beare not the ſword in vaine, Rom. 13. but execute Gods vengeance on ſuſh: for the Civill Magistrate is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil. And there-

therefore a broad difference is to be put between such evill doers, and thoſe tender conſciences who follow the light of Gods Word in their owne perfwafions, (though judged erroneous by the places where they live) fo long as their walking is anſwerable to the rules of the Gofpel, by preſerving peace, and holding forth holineſſe in their converfations amongt men.

Thus much I thought good to ſignifie, becauſe we of *New-England* are ſaid to be fo often propounded for an example. And if any will take us for a president, I deſire they may really know what wee doe, rather then what others ignorantly or malitiously report of us, affuring my ſelf that none will ever be loſers by following us fo far as we follow Chriſt: Which that we may doe, and our posterities after us, the Father of our Lord Jefus Chriſt, & our Father, accept in Chriſt what is according to him, diſcover, pardon, and reform what is amifſe amongt us; and guide us and them by the aſſistance of the holy Ghost for time to come, till time ſhal be no more; that the Lord our God may ſtill delight to dwell amongt his Plantations and Churches there by his gracious preſence, and may goe on bleffing to bleffe them with heavenly bleſſings in theſe earthly places, that fo by his bleſſing they may not onely grow up to a Nation, but become exemplary for good unto others. And let all that wiſh wel to *Sion* ſay *Amen.*

## *FINIS.*

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### *ERRATA.*

In the title of p. 9, &c. to 37. in ſtead, of the Magiſtrates of *Boston* in *New-Engl.* r. of *Maffachufets in New England*; p 11. l. 27. for purpoſe God, r. *purpoſe of God*; p. 14. for day of, r. *day of thiſ*; p. 30 l. 17. for Cope, r. *cup*; alſo l. 18 for cope, r. *cup*; alſo l. 21. for Judas, r. *as Judas*; p. 32. l. 3. leave out *to*; p. 54. l. 10. for by, r. *in*; p. 67. l. 37. for complaining, r. *complained*; p. 79. l. 26. for with as indeed, r. *with them as*; p. 83. l. 23. for and, put ( p. 85. l. 6. for whom, r. *which*.













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